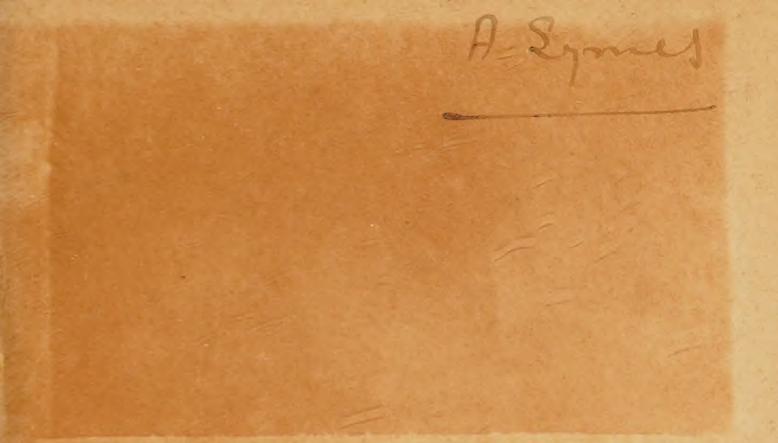

THE ORATIONS OF ISOCRATES

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THE ORATIONS

OF

ISOCRATES

TRANSLATED BY

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WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

VOL. I

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PREFACE.

When the publishers requested me to undertake the present work, they kindly placed at my disposal a MS. translation as far as § 70 of the "Philippus" by another scholar, Mr. A. H. Dennis, of Exeter College, Oxford, who has been prevented by professional engagements from revising and completing it. This portion of the volume I have left as far as possible as it was written, only making alterations when rendered necessary by the use of a later edition of the text; and, in some few cases, where another rendering appeared to be preferable.

For the General Introduction, short Introductions to each speech, the whole of the Notes, and the remainder of the Translation, I am responsible. So far as I am aware, this is the first attempt at a complete English translation of the works of Isocrates. Although, as a rule, he is an easy author to understand, the elaborate correspondence of clauses, and even of words, in the original renders it difficult to represent him satisfactorily in English, and I can only hope that my version may be found fairly correct.

I have consulted a considerable number of books bearing on the subject, a complete list of which would take up too much space. While acknowledging the assistance I have obtained from these, I wish to express my special indebtedness to Professor Jebb's "Attic Orators;" the French translation by Clermont-Tonerre; Benseler's German translation (with notes) of the "Panegyricus," "Philip-

pus," "Archidamus," "Peace," and "Plataicus;" Dr. Sandys's "Demonicus" and "Panegyricus;" Rauchenstein's "Panegyricus" and "Areopagiticus;" Schneider's "Demonicus" and "Evagoras;" and H. Clarke's "Evagoras."

The translation being intended mainly for English readers, I have said less in the Introduction about the "style" of Isocrates than would naturally have found a place in an edition of the Greek text.

The text from which the translation is made is that of the Teubner Series (1891).

It is hoped to include in the second volume some Appendices dealing with the Athenian constitution and other matters, as well as a complete Index to the whole.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. Isocrates was the fourth of the "ten Attic orators," the other nine, in chronological order, being Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, Lycurgus, and Dinarchus.

He was born in the beginning of the eighty-sixth Olympiad, during the archonship of Lysimachus, *i.e.*, in B.C. 436, five years before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. His father was an Athenian citizen, named Theodorus, belonging to the deme, or district, of Erchia: he was a well-to-do member of the middle class, his income being derived from a flute manufactory. He served the state as choregus:[1] in the words of his son,[2] "he made himself useful to the state, and educated us so carefully, that at that time I was more famous and better known amongst my fellow-pupils than I am now amongst my fellow-citizens." When he grew up, Isocrates further studied under some of the most famous sophists, or professors of wisdom,[3] such as Protagoras of Abdera, Prodicus of Ceos, the author of the well-known fable of the "choice of Heracles,"[4] Tisias of Syracuse, and, above all, Gorgias of Leontini. The Athenian statesman and orator, Theramenes, is also said to have been one of his teachers: at any rate, the story goes that when, during the rule of the Thirty at Athens, Theramenes

[1] The chorēgia, or duty of defraying the cost of the production of the public choruses, was one of the Athenian leitourgiai, or public services.

[2] "Antidosis," § 161.

[3] For opposite views concerning the Sophists, see Grote's "History of Greece," ch. lxvii., and E. M. Cope's Essays in the "Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology" (Nos. 2, 5, 7, 9).

[4] See Xenophon, "Memorabilia," ii. 21-34.

was unjustly condemned by Critias, Isocrates rose and stoutly defended him, showing that, if the story be true, he could on emergency overcome his natural defect of want of nerve. He was never admitted into the inner Socratic "circle," but his moral and intellectual character was doubtless influenced by the great teacher, with whom he enjoyed a certain amount of intimacy. He is said to have appeared in mourning in the streets after the death of Socrates, but it is doubtful whether his feelings towards him were so pronounced as this would seem to imply: the only passage in which Socrates is mentioned (in the "Busiris," §§ 4, 5) does not display much personal enthusiasm. However, Socrates on his part had the highest opinion of Isocrates: this may be gathered from the Phaedrus of Plato,[1] where he says that, as Isocrates advances in years (he was at the time about thirty years of age) he will outstrip all his competitors in the kind of oratory to which he is devoting his attention: further, that in case he should not be satisfied with this, divine impulse might lead him on to greater things; for, he adds, the man is endowed by nature with a certain philosophy.

Isocrates himself tells us[2] that he was debarred from taking an active part in public life by reason of two natural defects: he possessed neither a strong voice nor a sufficient amount of self-confidence or "nerve" to enable him to hold his own against the noisy demagogues of the ecclesia or public assembly, or in the law courts, and, as he himself puts it, men who are deficient in those qualities are less held in honour than insolvent public debtors. He was naturally of a retiring disposition,[3] and shy in the presence of strangers: and it was not until he was driven to it by actual necessity that he began to lead a more active life.

2. During the last years of the Peloponnesian war, his father lost all his property, and Isocrates was compelled to look about for a means of gaining a livelihood. He had been extravagant in his youth—among other things he was fond of the turf—so that on the whole this was the best thing that could have happened to him. Authorities are not agreed as to the manner in which his time was spent

[1] P. 279.

[2] "Panathenaicus," § 10.

[3] "Antidosis," § 151.

until the establishment of his school at Athens, but the following account is considered most probable. After the downfall of the Thirty Tyrants, and the restoration of the democracy,[1] he took to writing legal or forensic speeches for others, and was engaged in this work for ten years (B.C. 403-393): of this period of his literary career he afterwards speaks in most contemptuous terms. In B.C. 393 or B.C. 392 he went to the island of Chios,[2] where he gained considerable reputation as a teacher, and returned to Athens about B.C. 390, where he set up a regular school of rhetoric near the Lyceum, the chief of the Athenian Gymnasia.

3. At that time Athens was the centre of attraction of the ancient world, and a favourite resort of foreign visitors, who went thither both for pleasure and instruction. Athens, says Isocrates,[3] is rightly regarded as the recognised teacher of all capable orators and trainers of thought and expression, so that not without reason all masters of eloquence are considered pupils of Athens. Many rich young men came from Sicily, and even from Pontus and the colonies of the Euxine, to prosecute their studies under the teachers of note. The school of Isocrates was largely attended, especially by foreigners, his name having become widely known through his writings. His earliest Athenian pupils are mentioned by name in the speech called Antidosis:[4] one of his later pupils was Timotheus (son of the famous Athenian admiral Conon), whom he is said to have accompanied on his campaigns, receiving a fee of a talent (£250) from the spoil of Samos for composing his despatches: it was through this Timotheus that Isocrates became acquainted with the princes of Salamis in Cyprus. Among

[1] According to Blass, "Attic Oratory," ii. 14, Isocrates at this period journeyed to Thessaly to put himself under the tuition of Gorgias: but, considering his pecuniary circumstances, it does not seem likely that he would have been in a position to pay the high fees demanded by the famous sophist.

[2] Here again authorities differ; according to some (*e.g.* (?) Plutarch, "Life of Isocrates"), he went to Chios as early as B.C. 404, and actually set up a school there, which was attended by nine pupils; but this is generally rejected, as nothing further is known of this school, and the number of pupils mentioned corresponds suspiciously with the number of those mentioned in the "Antidosis," who are all Athenians.

[3] "Antidosis," § 295.

[4] § 93.

his pupils may also be mentioned the historians Ephorus and Theopompus: the tragedians Asclepiades, Astydames, and Theodectes: the orators Hyperides, Isaeus, and Lycurgus: the archaeologist Androtion: and lastly, Isocrates of Apollonia, his successor.[1] He is said to have had a hundred pupils altogether: the above names are sufficient evidence of his reputation as a teacher, and of the different classes from which they were drawn. All the competitions for the prize of oratory instituted by Artemisia, widow of the Carian prince, Mausolus, were pupils of Isocrates, the winner being Theopompus.[2]

4. Isocrates amassed considerable wealth by his profession: the fee which he demanded from foreigners was a thousand drachmae (£40): it is said that he gave gratuitous instruction to his fellow-citizens, but we can scarcely believe that: he also received handsome presents from Nicocles and Evagoras. He was one of the 1,200 wealthiest Athenian citizens, who constituted the twenty symmories, or associations formed for the purpose of equipping vessels of war: this duty, called trierarchia, was one of the most expensive of the public services. He was three times trierarch: his first and only lawsuit[3] was in B.C. 355, in reference to one of these very trierarchies.

5. Although he was prevented by the natural and physical defects mentioned above from taking a prominent part in public affairs, the influence Isocrates exercised in Athens and the Hellenic world generally was considerable. As he himself says:[4] "Although I have avoided political life and public speaking, as I possessed neither sufficient voice nor

[1] Although not actually one of his pupils, Demosthenes seems in certain passages to have taken Isocrates as his model.

[2] For Isocrates and his school, cp. Cicero, "de Oratore," ii. § 94, Ecce tibi est exortus Isocrates, cuius e ludo tanquam ex equo Troiano meri principes exierunt: sed eorum partim in pompa, partim in acie illustres esse voluerunt. itaque et illi Theopompi, Ephori, Philisti, Naucratae multique alii naturis differunt, voluntate autem similes sunt et inter sese et magistri: et ii qui se ad causas contulerunt, ut Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Aeschines, Dinarchus aliique complures.

[3] The mention of *two* lawsuits in the (?) Plutarch life of Isocrates is considered erroneous.

[4] In a letter to the government officials of Mitylene (Ep. viii. § 7).

self-confidence, I have not, however, been altogether useless or without reputation, but it will be found that I have been both counsellor and supporter to those who have undertaken to give good advice concerning your interests and those of the rest of the allies, and that I myself have composed more discourses on behalf of the freedom and independence of the Hellenes than all those who have worn down the public platforms." He thus found his true vocation "in expounding to the educated public in addresses and writings his views of the affairs of Hellas and Athens." There seems to be no doubt that in this he was thoroughly honest and patriotic (with perhaps one exception), but he was not the man whom the circumstances of the times required. He was always harping upon the past, and longing for a return to the days of Solon and Cleisthenes: without going so far as to call him "a thoroughly miserable and despicable writer" (Niebuhr), it cannot be denied that there was little that was fresh or original in his ideas, throughout the long period during which he was before the public: he was fond of propounding abstract political ideas, without duly considering whether they came within the range of practical politics, and how far the objects he had in view were attainable: he seems to have thought he had only to speak to get what he wanted from men like Dionysius of Syracuse. Whether his relations with Philip of Macedon were entirely above suspicion, does not seem quite clear: if they were, it can only be said that he was singularly confiding and lacking in the qualities of a man of the world.[1] A certain vein of timidity also runs through his political principles: he deprecates any action on the part of Athens which might tend to disturb the public peace, and is even ready to advise her to renounce the idea of the position of a great power, and to allow those of the allies who desired to do so to withdraw from the league. His influence was thus due, partly to oral advice given to his pupils and friends, partly to his written speeches or "political pamphlets," which were primarily meant to be read, rather than composed with a view to their being actually delivered.

[1] Niebuhr says: "he was at least in his old age a thoroughly bad citizen, as well as an ineffable fool."

6. The object which Isocrates professedly had in view was to train young men in the art of speaking and writing on political subjects, in order to fit them to fulfil the active duties of life in a manner worthy of the citizens of the Hellenic world. He laid great stress upon the art of expression, not merely with the object of turning out first-class *orators*, who, he says, were few and far between, but as forming an essential part of general culture. By the term "philosophy,"[1] which is of frequent occurrence in his writings, is meant "the theory of culture," with special reference to the duties of practical and political life, including the study of the art of speaking: "a combination of Rhetoric and Politic, in which the latter predominates" (Sandys). In the "Antidosis" (§ 271) he says that, since an absolute knowledge (*ἐπιστήμη*) of what is going to happen is impossible, whereby we should always know how to speak and act in all circumstances, the next best thing to do is to endeavour to form an opinion (*δόξα*) how to act in various emergencies: and that those who are most successful in this, and occupy themselves in finding out the best way to do so, are worthy to be called philosophers, absolute knowledge of what may happen, and consequently absolute rules for guidance being, from the nature of things, out of the question.

Isocrates was in no sense of the word a "philosopher," as we understand the term: in fact, his character, as a whole, is far from being distinguished by philosophic indifference. In many passages he certainly makes use of words and expressions which seem to show his familiarity with the writings of Plato; such as the contrast between "absolute knowledge" and "mere opinion" just mentioned, and the use of the word "ideas"—in a sense, however, quite different from the Platonic. In fact he regarded the Platonic system of philosophy as "generally barren of practical results:" whenever he deals with such themes, he merely does so in reference to their bearing on practical life.

7. The art of expression, however, although he attached great importance to it, he did not consider by itself enough.

[1] See Appendix II. in Thompson's "Phaedrus."

He who aimed at composing speeches which should be worth reading and possess permanent value, must choose lofty themes, and treat them in an adequate manner: he must strive to get and to keep a good name. A detailed account of his "philosophy," his method of instruction, and the object he set before himself, is given in the speech on the "Antidosis" (Or. XV.), which expounds the "positive" side of his teaching, as the speech against the Sophists (Or. XIII.) the "negative."

The aim of Isocrates being not so much to impart any special training, as a general culture suitable for the needs of practical life, he draws a distinction between himself and the λογόγραφοι, whose only object was the composition of speeches likely to be effective in the law courts for "making the worse appear the better cause:" for these writers he entertained the greatest contempt, as neglecting the nobler side of their art. Although he does not repudiate the title of "sophist" in its best sense—one who really was what he professed to be, a wise man, or professor of wisdom which he really possessed, in contrast with one who was a mere quack, and professed wisdom which he had not—he is careful to separate himself from the ἀγέλαιοι σοφισταὶ, or sophists belonging to the "common herd," against whom the (unfinished) speech against the Sophists (Or. XIII.) is directed. These men professed to know everything (πάντα φάσκοντες εἰδέναι), and to be able to impart universal knowledge, virtue, and justice for a fee of three or four minae, about one-third of what Isocrates himself required, while Gorgias demanded as much as a hundred minae[1] for a course of instruction. Equally faulty was their system of rhetoric: they took for their subjects paradoxical themes, *e.g.*, that the lot of beggars and exiles was more enviable than that of the rest of mankind, or pronounced encomia upon most trivial subjects, such as humble bees, salt, mice, pots, and pebbles.

Isocrates, on the contrary, selected serious and dignified subjects; even in his younger days he tells us that he had avoided the mythical and heroic themes, which were in general favour, and had directed his efforts rather to what

[1] The mina may be reckoned at about £4.

was likely to prove of service to the Hellenic world generally, such as national unity and mutual co-operation against their hereditary foe, the Persians: "my endeavour has been," he says, "according to the best of my ability, to give good counsel to the city, the Hellenes, and the most distinguished among mankind." [1]

8. The life of Isocrates embraces the most eventful century of Greek history. He was born in the "golden age" of Athens, the age of Pericles, when that city was in her prime; he was thirty years of age when, as the result of the Peloponnesian War, her supremacy was overthrown. Then followed the dominion of Sparta, the temporary resuscitation of the maritime power of Athens, and the rapid rise and downfall of Thebes. The hitherto obscure and semi-barbarous—though still Hellenic—power of Macedonia next appeared upon the scene, and Isocrates lived to see the extinction of the freedom of Greece, brought about by the victory of Philip of Macedon at Chaeronea. Had he lived but two years longer he would have seen Alexander the Great mount the throne of Macedon, the great conqueror who was destined to carry out Isocrates's cherished project of an Asiatic campaign, though perhaps not exactly in the way he would have wished. The changes in his native city had not been so startling, or of such long duration: he, however, beheld the rule of the Four Hundred, the Thirty Tyrants, and the Council of Ten, followed by the restoration of the democracy, which lasted throughout the remaining years of his life. By conviction, the sympathies of Isocrates were with the democracy; in the "Areopagiticus" [2] he draws a contrast between oligarchical and democratical forms of government in terms unfavourable to the former. But the democracy, as it existed in his days, was only a makeshift, and by no means came up to his ideal of what such a government should be. He speaks in the highest terms of Pericles,[3] and his sacrifice of self-interest in the cause of Athens, and admits that he did the best he could for the state. But the period upon which he looked back with the greatest approval was the era of the Persian wars, and the days of Solon and Cleis-

[1] "Philippus," § 82.
[2] §§ 62-70.
[3] "Antidosis," §§ 111, 234; "Peace," § 126.

thenes, when offices were conferred by election and not by ballot, and when the court of the Areopagus exercised jurisdiction over the manners and morals of the citizens.[1]

The opinion expressed in the speech called "Nicocles" (Or. III.) that Monarchy as a form of government is to be preferred either to an Oligarchy or a Republic, may seem inconsistent. But, leaving out of the question his intimate acquaintance with Nicocles, and the prospective benefits likely to result therefrom,—for Isocrates doubtless had an eye to the main chance as much as anybody else—it must be remembered that he is speaking rather as a professed rhetorician, as one able to argue for or against a given cause with equal facility. His advocacy of monarchy need not, therefore, be necessarily understood as the expression of what he really felt.

9. Although not a blind admirer of the Spartans, he in general approved of their constitution. When he seems to entertain a different opinion, it may be accounted for by the varying political relations and circumstances of the times. In the "Panegyricus"[2] he expresses the greatest detestation of the decarchies (*δεκαρχίαι*), or boards of Ten, which were set up in most of the Greek cities by the Spartan Lysander after the battle of Aegospotami, and indignantly rebukes those who advocated the cause of the Lacedaemonians. When Agesilaus came forward and posed as the liberator of the Asiatic Greeks, Isocrates conceived the greatest admiration for him, and never afterwards lost faith in him, although his performances entirely fell short of his promises. This unwillingness on the part of Isocrates to abandon a favourable opinion of any prominent man when once formed is remarkable. In the letter (Ep. ix. 11) addressed to Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, he speaks of his father as having persistently desired to bring about the freedom of the Greeks, and to prosecute the war against the barbarians. Then followed the Corinthian War,—waged against Sparta by a league of Athens, Argos, Thebes, Euboea, and Corinth —so called from the latter city being the general meeting-place, or central point of the struggle. Conon and Evagoras, aided by the

[1] See the "Areopagiticus."

[2] §§ 110-114.

Persians, freed the islands and Athens herself from Spartan oppression; this indebtedness to barbarian intervention cannot but have been distasteful to Isocrates. The Corinthian War was ended by the disgraceful peace of Antalcidas, so called from the Spartan diplomatist, who, assisted by the satrap Tiribazus, had been mainly instrumental in bringing it about. The terms of this peace were as follows: "King Artaxerxes [Mnemon] thinks it just that the cities in Asia, and the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus shall belong to him. He thinks it just also to leave all the other Hellenic cities autonomous, both small and great, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens, as they did originally. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, by land as well as sea, with ships and with money" (Grote). It is against this disgraceful convention that the second part of the "Panegyricus" is directed, which also contains a violent attack upon the Spartans as putting forward their best efforts to reduce the Hellenic cities to a state of slavery, instead of rather using their power to overthrow the barbarians.

10. The Theban War next broke out. In this Athens at first supported the cause of Thebes, and by the defeat of the Spartan fleet off Naxos recovered her naval supremacy. The Theban victory at Leuctra broke the land power of Sparta, and put an end to her hegemony. When, however, Thebes tried to gain the mastery of Peloponnesus, Athens, not being desirous of having so powerful a rival on her very frontiers, transferred her support from Thebes to Sparta, being unwilling to see the total annihilation of the latter. Isocrates also turned round, and in his "Archidamus" extols the courage and previous achievements of Sparta, at the same time exhorting them not to give way in the matter of Messene.[1] But when the Phocian War had weakened Thebes, his feelings towards Thebes and Sparta again underwent a change.

11. The dominant political idea of Isocrates was the freedom and independence of the whole Hellenic world,

[1] See Introduction to the "Archidamus."

the Asiatic Greeks included, and the union of Greece against Persia. His efforts in this direction, as set forth in the "Panegyricus," proved barren of practical result, as might have been expected; the speech brought him fame as a masterpiece of rhetoric, but nothing more. Still dreaming of his favourite project, he endeavoured to bring about its execution in another way. He cast about in search of some single individual of eminence who would be willing to undertake the leadership of the united forces of Greece. Jason, the despot of Pherae in Thessaly, had spoken of crossing over to Asia and making war upon the "Great King."[1] His career, however, was cut short by his assassination in B.C. 370. Isocrates himself addressed a letter[2] to Archidamus the younger, son of Agesilaus of Sparta, requesting him to put himself at the head of such an expedition; but, although great hopes had been formed of him before his accession, they do not seem to have been fulfilled. In his letter to Dionysius of Syracuse,[3] who in his later years concluded an alliance with Athens, although he does not specially mention it, he doubtless had his project in view. Dionysius, however, had his hands too full, even had he been desirous of undertaking the responsibility. The attention of Isocrates was finally directed to Philip of Macedon. When peace was patched up between Athens and Philip by the convention of Philocrates, he addressed to him the appeal which is known by the name of the "Philippus" (Or. V.). He seems never to have wavered in the confidence he placed in Philip, until after the battle of Chaeronea, even if he did so then.

12. Having thus briefly touched upon the political views of Isocrates, we may turn our attention to the closing years of his long life. In spite of his success as a teacher, and his comfortable worldly circumstances, his lot cannot be said to have been altogether a happy one. His rivals, especially the Sophists, were envious of him, and the public misjudged him. The popularity to which he considered himself entitled as the reward of his patriotic writings, fell to the lot of those popular orators whom he regarded with contempt. He was averse to courting the

[1] "Philippus," § 119.

[2] Ep. ix. §§ 18, 19.

[3] Ep. i.

favour of the masses, and addressed himself rather to a select and cultivated audience. Hence he never became what is called a popular favourite. As he was naturally vain, this galled him. He found himself regarded simply as a teacher, and, even in this, his undisputed superiority was not recognised. He yearned for praise while he lived, rather than for posthumous fame. In other respects, he was a wonderful old man. He enjoyed good health until he was ninety-four years of age, and we read that he did not complete the "Panathenaicus" until he was ninety-seven. Several of his other compositions were also the work of his later years. In his ninety-fifth year he was attacked by a dangerous disease, which, at his advanced age, must have already made him feel tired of life at the time the battle of Chaeronea was fought. He was at Athens when the news of it reached him. It is not altogether easy to estimate the light in which he regarded it. It was only natural that he should be overcome with grief at the reverse to the allied arms, and the loss of his fellow-citizens on the battle-field. But it is doubtful, considering the persistent manner in which he had up till then believed in Philip, of whose ulterior aims he can scarcely have been ignorant, unless utterly blinded by his partisanship, whether he viewed the result of the engagement altogether with dissatisfaction. It made Philip the foremost man in the Greek world, and pointed him out as the man who had an undisputed right to take the command in an expedition against Persia. There seems no reason to doubt the genuineness of the second letter to Philip (Ep. iii.), in which he apparently congratulates him on his victory. Various traditionary accounts are given of his death. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he died a few days after the battle, in the ninety-eighth year of his age, in accordance with his wish to end his own life together with the fortunes of the state, since it was not clear what use Philip was likely to make of his supremacy. According to (?) Plutarch, on hearing of the defeat while in the palaestra of Hippocrates, he quoted three lines from the commencement of three plays of Euripides, referring to three barbarian intruders in Hellas, Cadmus, Danaus, and Pelops, thereby signifying that a fourth was

now come in the person of Philip of Macedon; and then starved himself to death within four, or according to others, nine days, when the burial of those who had fallen in the battle took place. The allusion in Milton's sonnet is well known:

> "As that dishonest victory
> At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,
> Killed with report that old man eloquent."

According to Curtius, in his history of Greece, he was disinclined to live, when he found Athens likely to stake her all on a last desperate attempt at resistance. It seems more probable that the tradition that he committed suicide is untrue. His ill-health and great age would be sufficient to account for his death occurring when it did, possibly accelerated by the general shock of the tidings of the defeat.

Isocrates was buried in the family grave, near the Cynosarges, a plot of ground sacred to Heracles, with a gymnasium, on the east of Athens. His tomb was surmounted by a lofty column, forty-five feet high, on which stood a siren, symbolical of the charm of his oratory. Close by was a tablet of stone, representing a group of poets and sophists, who had been his instructors, in the centre Gorgias, and Isocrates beside him.

13. The greatest success gained by Isocrates was in the province of oratory. To meet the requirements of the times, regular schools were formed for the purpose of providing instruction in this art, since, owing to the growth of litigiousness, it was necessary for every citizen to know how to defend himself. This was mainly due to the exertions of the Sophists, who adopted the florid or Sicilian style (which attained its highest perfection in Gorgias of Leontini), and regarded the art of rhetoric simply as the means of producing conviction in the minds of the hearers. At first, as an opponent of the Sophists, Isocrates was bound to profess to aim higher, and not to apply this power to any and every subject, but only to such as were worthy. But he gradually lost sight of the moral aspect of the question, and practically fell back upon their standpoint, when he devoted all his efforts towards

imparting a perfectly finished style, as the highest aim of the teacher.

His chief importance consists in his style. He was the first "who perfected prose rhythm," as exhibited in well-rounded periods, perfectly balanced and regularly constructed, in which the exchange or omission of a word impairs the general effect. He avoided all that tended to disturb the even flow of language, such as hiatus (the meeting of two vowels), a principle which he systematically carried out to the fullest extent. Three figures of speech are constantly used by him, parallelism in sense (*ἀντίθεσις*), parallelism in form between two clauses or sentences (*παρίσωσις*), and parallelism in sound (*παρομοίωσις*[1]). Of these Professor Jebb says: "The idea of all these three figures is the same—that idea of mechanical balance in which the craving for symmetry is apt to take refuge when not guided by a really flexible instinct, or a spiritual sense of fitness or measure." His diction is pure Attic; he excludes what is unusual and poetical, although he makes a judicious use of metaphors and tropes. He spent an enormous amount of time on the composition of his speeches. This, although it resulted in their being turned out in a highly elaborated and finished state of perfection, robbed them of freshness and vigour. "His work may be finished, but it is undeniably laboured: it may have melody, but is apt to become monotonous." He is said to have devoted ten years to the "Panegyricus," and three to the "Panathenaicus," which led to the remark that Alexander conquered Asia in less time than it took Isocrates to compose the "Panegyricus." There is a distinct want of originality in his writings, phrases and whole passages being borrowed from his earlier speeches, and introduced into his later writings. When we have read one of his speeches, we may be said to have read all. In the words of Professor Curtius: "Isocrates was an artist in diction, a stylist, and only in outward form an orator."

14. We possess all, or nearly all the writings of Isocrates that were known to later writers. The collection

[1] See Sandys, Introduction to the "ad Demonicum" and "Panegyricus" (Catena Classicorum), p. xiv.

of Photius[1] contains twenty-one speeches and nine letters. The order in which they are translated in this series is that of Wolf.

A. Deliberative speeches (i.-ix.), including the three hortatory addresses, (1) "To Demonicus;" (2) "To Nicocles;" (3) "Nicocles or the Cyprians."
B. Declamatory or show-speeches (x.-xiii.).
C. Forensic speeches (xiv.-xxi.), including the "Plataicus," the "Antidosis," and the six forensic speeches proper.
D. The letters.

The above are differently arranged in the MSS., and by ancient writers. The following is Professor Jebb's arrangement.[2]

Forensic Speeches (B.C. 403-393).

In his later years Isocrates seems to have become ashamed of these early compositions. His (adopted) son, Aphareus, even denied that he had ever composed any forensic speeches; but this statement is disproved by the express testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It has been remarked[3] that this repudiation is all the more curious, as the forensic speeches are, in many respects, his best productions. They all deal with private lawsuits, not with public prosecutions: they are δίκαι and not γραφαί. They are six in number.

1. *Against Lochites* (XX.),[4] an action for assault (αἰκία). Date variously given as B.C. 402; between B.C. 402-398; B.C. 394 (J.); about B.C. 400 (B.).[5]
2. *Aegineticus* (XIX.), a dispute about an inheritance. The speech receives its name from the case being

[1] Patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century A.D.
[2] See article "Isocrates," in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica."
[3] Sandys, note on "Panegyricus," § 11.
[4] The Roman numerals denote the number of the speech according to the order in which they are here translated.
[5] (J.) denotes the date as given by Professor Jebb, (B.) as given by Blass in the Index to the Teubner text (Benseler revised), 1888. It will be observed that the dates assigned by different scholars to the compositions of Isocrates are often considerably at variance, and that in most cases they can only be regarded as approximate.

taken to Aegina to be tried. The parties interested belonged to Siphnus. Date: B.C. 402; B.C. 397; B.C. 361; B.C. 394 (end), or B.C. 393 (beginning (J.), perhaps B.C. 390 (B.).

3, 4. Actions to recover a deposit (παρακαταθήκη).

(α) *Against Euthynus* (xxi.). The speech was probably not delivered. Its genuineness has been suspected. Date: B.C. 403 (J.); B.C. 402 (B). The speech is also called ἀμάρτυρος, *i.e.*, without witnesses.

(β) *Trapeziticus* (xvii.). Brought against the banker Pasion, hence its name. Date: B.C. 394 (end) (J.). At any rate not tried after B C. 390 (B.). Its genuineness has been suspected on insufficient grounds, according to Blass.

5. *About the team of horses* (περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους) (xvi.). It is an action for damages (βλαβή), brought by one Tisias against the younger Alcibiades, on the ground that his father had robbed him of a team of horses. Date: B C. 402-398; about B.C. 397 (J.) (B.).

6. *Against Callimachus* (xviii.). A special plea (παραγραφή) against an action for damages assessed at 1,000 drachmae, by Callimachus. Date: B.C. 402 (J.); about B.C. 399 (B.).

Scholastic Writings.

A. *Hortatory* (λόγοι παραινετικοί).

(α) *To Demonicus* (i.). General precepts addressed to a young Cyprian of that name. Its genuineness has been strongly disputed. According to Blass, it was the work of some unknown pupil of Isocrates, and was written in imitation of the "Nicocles." Date: nothing can be fixed. Sandys, who contends for its being genuine, fixes its composition during the sojourn of Isocrates in Chios, for which island he left Athens either in B.C. 404, or B.C. 393.[1]

(β) *To Nicocles* (ii.), king of Salamis in Cyprus. A treatise on the duty of a monarch to his subjects. Date: about B.C. 376 (B.); B.C. 374 (J.).

[1] See Sandys, Introduction to the "Demonicus," p. xxxviii.

(γ) *Nicocles or the Cyprians* (iii.). A treatise on the duty of subjects to their king, and a plea for monarchy. Date: between B.C. 372-365 (J.); about B.C. 372 (B.).

B. Four "show-speeches" proper (ἐπιδείξεις):

(α) *Busiris* (xi.). An attempt to show how the brutal Busiris of Egypt might be praised, in contradistinction to the similar efforts of the Sophist Polycrates. Date: B.C. 391, or B.C. 390.

(β) *Encomium on Helen* (x.). Written in praise of beauty. It is also an endeavour to show how true encomia should be written. Date: about B.C. 370 (J.); about B.C. 392 (B.).

(γ) *Evagoras* (ix.). An encomium on Evagoras, father of Nicocles. Sent on the occasion of a festival, held in his honour, by his son. Date: about B.C. 365 (J.); perhaps about B.C. 370 (B.).

(δ) *Panathenaicus* (xii.). A eulogy of Athens, and the services she had rendered to the Greek world. The last work of Isocrates. Date: it was commenced in B.C. 342, and finished in B.C. 339.

Educational Essays.

(α) *Against the Sophists* (xiii.). An attack upon the methods adopted by other "Sophists." As we have it, the discourse is incomplete at the end. Date: B.C. 391, or B.C. 390 (J.); B.C. 393 (B.).

(β) *The Antidosis* (xv.). On the "Exchange of Properties." Really a vindication of his whole career, and a statement of his idea of the true meaning of "a Sophist" and his calling. Date: B.C. 353.

Political Writings.

I. Relation of Greece to Persia.

(α) *Panegyricus* (iv.). Urging Athens and Sparta to lay aside their animosity, and make common cause against Persia. Date: B.C. 380.

(β) *Philippus* (v.). An appeal to Philip of Macedon (the "Panegyricus" having been barren of result), to

undertake the leadership of united Greece in an attack upon Persia. Date: B.C. 346.

II. The internal affairs of Greece:

(α) "*Concerning Peace*" (viii.). περὶ εἰρήνης or συμμαχικός. Written to induce Athens to conclude peace with the revolted allies, Byzantium, Chios, Cos, and Rhodes. Date: the first half of B.C. 355 (J.); B.C. 356 (B.).

(β) *Areopagiticus* (vii.). Urges upon the Athenians the necessity of restoring to the Council of the Areopagus the supervision of public morality, which it had formerly exercised. Date: latter half of B.C. 355 (J.); B.C. 355 or B.C. 354 (B.).

(γ) *Plataicus* (xiv.). An appeal supposed to be made by a Plataean before the Athenian assembly, urging the restoration of his city, which had been destroyed by the Thebans. Date: B.C. 373 (J.); B.C. 374, or B.C. 373 (B.).

(δ) *Archidamus* (vi.). Supposed to have been delivered by Archidamus of Sparta, before the Spartan assembly, urging them not to abandon Messene, the surrender of which was put forward by the Thebans, as an indispensable condition of peace, in the war going on between Sparta, Athens, and others, and the Thebans and their allies. Date: B.C. 366 (J.); B.C. 356 (B.).

Letters.

1. *To Dionysius I.* of Syracuse (i.). Urging him to take the command against Persia. Date: B.C. 368 (J.); a little before B.C. 367 (B.).
2. *To the children of Jason* (vi.), tyrant of Pherae, in Thessaly, who had been murdered in B.C. 370, urging them to set up a popular government. Date: about B.C. 359.
3. *To Archidamus* (ix.). Begging him to undertake an expedition against Persia. Date: B.C. 356, or a little later.
4. *To Timotheus* (vii.), tyrant of Heraclea. A letter of introduction on behalf of a friend. Date: about B.C. 345.

5. *To the Government officials of Mitylene* (viii.), asking permission for the return of Agenor, a democratic exile. Date: about B.C. 350.
6. *First Letter to Philip of Macedon* (ii.), praising the part he had taken in the affairs of Thessaly. Date: B.C. 342.
7. *To Alexander* (v.), son of Philip, congratulating him upon his application to his studies. Date: B.C. 342.
8. *To Antipater* (iv.), of Macedon, who acted as regent during the absence of Philip. A letter of introduction for a friend, who desired to enter the Macedonian service. Date: B.C. 340, or B.C. 339.
9. *Second Letter to Philip* (iii.), congratulating him on the victory at Chaeronea. Date: B.C. 338.

15. In ancient times many more speeches were extant that bore the name of Isocrates. We hear of an encomium on Xenophon's son, Gryllus, and, according to Aristotle, forensic speeches, written by Isocrates, were to be found in abundance at the booksellers. In his biography by Plutarch (?) sixty speeches are mentioned, of which Dionysius of Halicarnassus regarded twenty-five, Caecilius twenty-eight, as genuine. In the life of Isocrates by an anonymous writer (supposed to be Zosimus), twenty-six, if not more, spurious speeches are mentioned.[1] Some were, perhaps, the work of Isocrates of Apollonia, to whom Harpocration also attributes the "Demonicus." We may lastly mention a τέχνη, or "Art of Rhetoric," in two books, which was certainly in existence and bore his name. We must suppose that, although at first he attached most importance to practice (ἄσκησις) rather than theory, he afterwards composed a special τέχνη, or systematic treatise on rhetoric, after the fashion of other teachers. It is said that Aristotle, being dissatisfied with it, as practically useless, was thereby induced to compose his own treatise on the "Art of Rhetoric." On the other hand, the genuineness of this τέχνη of Isocrates has been disputed. It is certainly curious that he should have written one, when we take into consideration the contempt with which he speaks of the composers of the "so-

[1] For the above, see Teubner text, vol. ii. pp. 274, 275.

called Arts of Rhetoric" in his treatise against the Sophists,[1] and his preference for oral instruction.

Nor, again, does he make mention of an actual τέχνη, composed by himself, which, considering his vanity and habit of self-laudation, he would not have been likely to leave unrecorded. In like manner, nothing is said of it by Aristotle, and Quintilian speaks of it in doubtful terms.[2] But the balance of evidence seems in favour of such a treatise having actually existed, which bore the name of Isocrates, whether it was the work of one of his pupils, or whether we are to understand the τέχναι (artes) to mean the actual *speeches* of Isocrates.[3]

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B.C.

436. *Isocrates born.*
435. Outbreak of war between Corinth and Corcyra.
433. Athens takes the side of Corcyra. Age of the Sophists.
432. Declaration of war against Athens by the Peloponnesian Confederacy: defeat of Athenians and Corcyreans by the Corinthians: revolt of Potidaea.
431. Capture of Plataea by the Thebans: entry of Archidamus into Attica.
430. Plague at Athens.
429. Surrender of Potidaea: Death of Pericles: Plato born.
427. Destruction of Mitylene: Plataea destroyed by the Spartans: Corcyrean sedition.
426. Athenian victory over Boeotians at Tanagra.

[1] § 19.

[2] Quint. ii. 15, 4, "si tamen revera ars, quae circumfertur, eius est."

[3] See Rauchenstein, Introduction to his edition of the "Panegyricus" and "Areopagiticus," p. 24 (fifth ed.), and Blass, "Attic Oratory," ii. pp. 104-106 (second ed.).

425. Athenian victory at Sphacteria: surrender of the Spartans to Cleon.
422. Defeat of Cleon by Brasidas at Amphipolis.
421. Fifty years truce agreed to between Nicias and the Spartans.
420. Treaty between Athens and Argos arranged by Alcibiades.
418. Defeat of the Athenians and Argives by Agis at Mantinea: alliance of Argos and Sparta.
417. Argos again unites with Athens.
415. Athenian expedition to Sicily: mutilation of the Hermae.
413. The Spartans invade Attica and fortify Decelea: the destruction of the Athenian army and fleet.
412. Alcibiades unites with Tissaphernes against the Athenians in Asia: revolt of Chios, Lesbos, Euboea, and Miletus from Athens.
411. Council of Four Hundred at Athens (March-June): subsequent restoration of the constitution and recall of Alcibiades. Loss of Euboea: defeat of the Spartans at Cynossema.
410. Defeat of Sparta and Persia by Alcibiades at Cyzicus.
409. Rhodes declared independent.
407. Alcibiades banished: his return and second banishment.
406. Dionysius of Syracuse (406-367). Defeat of the Spartan Callicratidas off Arginusae.
405. Athenians defeated by the Spartan admiral Lysander at Aegospotami.
404. Establishment of Spartan decarchies in the Greek cities. Rule of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens for eight months. End of the Peloponnesian war: fortifications of Athens destroyed by Lysander. Phyle occupied by Thrasybulus.
403. Year of anarchy at Athens. The oligarchy of Ten set up by Theramenes: constitution restored: Thrasybulus defeats the Thirty and takes Piraeus.
402. *Against Euthynus.*[1]

[1] The dates assigned to the compositions of Isocrates in this chronological table are taken in each case from the Index to the Teubner text (1888).

401. Retreat of the Ten Thousand.
400. *Against Lochites.*
399. *Against Callimachus.* Death of Socrates.
397. *The Team of Horses.*
395. League between Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Thebes: Conon commander of the Athenian fleet.
394. Corinthian war (to 387): Spartans defeated by Conon off Cnidus. Defeat of the allied Greeks by Agesilaus at Coronea.
Against the Sophists (about).
393. Sparta attacks Corinth. Rebuilding of the long walls of Athens and Piraeus by Conon.
392. *Trapeziticus and Helen.*
391. *Busiris.*
390. Persia takes up the cause of Sparta.
387. Corinthian war ended by the peace of Antalcidas.
385. Evagoras in command of the Cyprian forces: destruction of Mantinea by the Spartans: ten years war of Persia against Cyprus.
383. Birth of Demosthenes.
382. Seizure of the Cadmea by the Spartan faction. Olynthian war (379) of Sparta against the Olynthian confederacy. Birth of Philip of Macedon.
380. *Panegyricus.*
379. Thebes freed from the Spartan faction by Pelopidas. Olynthus surrenders to the Spartans.
378. Alliance of Athens and Thebes against Sparta.
376. Cyprus makes peace with Persia: defeat of the Spartans off Naxos by Chabrias and the Athenians. *To Nicocles* (Or. II.).
375. Thebans attacked in Phocis by Cleombrotus. Victory of the Sacred Band at Tegyra.
374. Jason of Pherae Tagus of Thessaly. Death of Evagoras. Expulsion of Spartans from Boeotia. Peace between Athens and Sparta.
Destruction of Plataea by the Thebans.
Demonicus (or perhaps 372).
373. *Plataicus.*
372. *Nicocles* (Or. III.).
371. Congress at Sparta. Peace of Callias accepted by all but the Thebans. Commencement of Theban

supremacy with the Spartan defeat at Leuctra. Foundation of Megalopolis by the Thebans.

370. Invasion of Laconia by Epaminondas, who founds Messene. Assassination of Jason of Pherae. *Evagoras.*

369. Alliance of Athens and Sparta against Thebes.

367. The "tearless" battle: defeat of Arcadians by Spartans.

366. Hegemony conferred on Thebes by Persia.

365. Philip of Macedon at Thebes.

362. Battle of Mantinea.

361. General peace: independence of Messene secured.

357. Seizure of Amphipolis by Philip. Social war between Athens and her dependencies (357-355).

356. *Archidamus.* Birth of Alexander the Great. Sacred War (—346).

355. Independence of the allies secured. *Areopagiticus. Peace.*

353. *Antidosis.*

352. Conquest of Thessaly by Philip checked by Athenians at Thermopylae. War between Sparta and Megalopolis.

349. Philip attacks Olynthus, which asks help from Athens.

348. Siege of Olynthus.

346. Philip head of Amphictyonic Council. *Philippus.*

342. *Panathenaicus* commenced, and finished 339.

338. Athenians and Thebans defeated at Chaeronea by Philip: end of the independence of Greece. *Death of Isocrates.*

TO DEMONICUS.

This moral lecture—it can hardly be called a speech—is one of the three "hortatory addresses," which stand first in the list of the "orations" of Isocrates. It is a letter of advice to Demonicus, the youthful son of one Hipponicus, who, according to the argument by an unknown grammarian of the fourth century A.D. prefixed to the treatise, was a Cyprian and a friend of the orator. Of the person to whom it is addressed nothing is known: it can only be gathered that the government of the state in which he lived was monarchical, and not republican. Ancient and modern authorities are divided in opinion as to whether it is a genuine work of Isocrates or not: it may be observed that the only other suspected orations are the Aegineticus (xix) and that against Euthynus (xxi), two of the "forensic" speeches.

Harpocration, the Greek lexicographer, ascribed the Demonicus to Isocrates of Apollonia, the pupil and successor of our author; while others have even imagined a third Isocrates, a friend and contemporary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Great stress is laid upon the want of methodical arrangement of the contents as an argument against its genuineness. Some authorities, for this and other reasons, are of opinion that it is the work of one of the pupils of Isocrates, and written in imitation of the "address to Nicocles." It has been pointed out, however, that too much importance may be attached to this.[1] Those who reject the speech do not attempt to fix the date of its composition; those who accept it assign it to the period of his life spent by Isocrates in the island of Chios.[2] If the state in which Demonicus was living is assumed to be Cyprus, this treatise would form the natural prelude to the "address to Nicocles," "the Nicocles," and "the Evagoras," which are specially concerned with the affairs of that island.

The treatise is interesting as showing the standard of morality —at times not a very lofty one, but curiously mixed—adopted by the author, which may be assumed to have been at least on a level with the average standard of the age. Sagacious and worldly reflections worthy of Lord Chesterfield stand side by side with the precepts of an exalted morality.

[1] Sandys, note on § 13; cp. Or. xv., §§ 67, 68.

[2] See Introd., § 3, and Sandys, Introd., p. xxxviii. Professor Jebb gives the date of the letter as about B.C. 374-2.

TO DEMONICUS.

1. In many respects, Demonicus, we shall find a great difference between the judgments of good men and the thoughts of bad men; but by far the greatest difference is in their acquaintanceships with one another. Bad men honour their friends only when present, but good men love them even when far away; and, while the acquaintanceships of bad men are dissolved by a short lapse of time, the friendships of good men even eternity will not wipe out. 2. Thinking therefore that it befits those who are eager for fame, and lay claim to a liberal education, to be imitators of the good and not of the bad, I have sent you this discourse as a gift, to be a proof of my good-will towards you both, and a token of my acquaintanceship with Hipponicus; for it is right that sons should inherit their portion of their father's friendship just as they do of his substance. 3. Moreover, I see that fortune too is co-operating with us, and that the present occasion is fighting on our side; for you are desirous of education, while I essay to educate others, and to you is come the ripe moment to become a philosopher,[1] while I set those who are becoming philosophers on the right path. Now all[2] who compose those hortatory discourses addressed to their friends essay indeed an honourable task, yet do not devote their attention to the noblest branch of philosophy; 4. but those who instruct the young not in the means whereby they may cultivate oratorical skill, but whereby they may

[1] See Introd., § 6, for the meaning of "philosophy" in the writings of Isocrates.

[2] Referring to contemporary sophists.

show themselves to be naturally of good moral character, benefit their hearers more than the other class of teachers, inasmuch as the latter stimulate the mind to discourse alone, while the former set right the conduct of their pupils.

5. It is for this reason that we, not devising an intellectual invitation, but writing a moral exhortation, propose to counsel you what young men should strive after, what deeds they should avoid, with what sort of men they should associate, and how they should order their own life. For it is only those who tread this path of life who are able in a genuine sense to arrive at virtue, the holiest and surest of all possessions. 6. For beauty is either consumed by time or withered by disease, and wealth is the minister of vice rather than of true nobility, affording license to indolence and inviting young men to pleasures; while strength when joined with discretion profits, but without it does more harm than good to those who possess it, and while it adorns the bodies of those who cultivate it,[1] casts a shadow over the care which should be bestowed upon the soul. 7. But the possession of virtue, wherever it has grown up with men in their minds without alloy, alone accompanies them into old age, and is better than wealth and more profitable than noble birth, rendering possible things which are impossible for the rest of mankind, bravely enduring what inspires fear in the multitude, and considering sloth a reproach and toil an honour.

8. It is easy to perceive this from the labours of Heracles and the deeds of Theseus,[2] in whose case virtue in conduct has impressed so deep a stamp of glory upon their deeds that even eternity itself cannot cause their achievements to be forgotten. 9. Not but that, by recalling your father's principles, you will find a noble example at home

[1] Such as professional athletes, who go through a strict course of training.

[2] See the "Encomium of Helen" (Or. x., §§ 18-38).

of what I tell you. For not in neglect of virtue nor in laxity did he pass his life, but he would exercise his body with toils, and with his soul he would endure dangers; he did not love wealth unseasonably, but to a mortal's enjoyment of the good within his reach he joined an immortal's thoughtfulness for his possessions. 10. Nor did he order his life meanly, but he was a man of taste, a gentleman of the grand school, whose heart was open to his friends; and he regarded those who felt esteem for him more highly than those connected with him by family ties; for he considered that for purposes of companionship nature was better than convention, conduct than family, and principle than necessity. 11. However, time would fail us if we were to enumerate all his doings; the details of them we will set forth on another occasion, but we have now shown a sample of the nature of Hipponicus, by which you must live as an example, holding his conduct as law, and becoming an imitator and emulator of your father's virtue; for it would be disgraceful that, while painters represent those living creatures that are beautiful, children should not imitate those parents who are good. 12. Consider that no athlete is so much bound to train against his antagonists as you are to aim at becoming a competitor with your father in his habits of life. But it is impossible for a man to be so disposed in his mind unless he be filled with many noble precepts; for as the body naturally grows by duly proportioned exercises, so does the soul grow by earnest words. Therefore I will endeavour concisely to suggest to you the practices whereby it seems to me you would best increase in virtue, and obtain a good report amongst all mankind.

13. First, then, show reverence in religious matters, not only by sacrificing, but also by abiding by your oath; for the former is merely a sign of abundance of wealth, but the latter is a proof of nobility of conduct. Venerate the Deity always, but especially in the common worship of the state;

for thus it will be seen that you not only sacrifice to the gods but also that you abide by the laws.

14. Learn to be towards your parents such as you would pray for your own children to be towards yourself.

Of bodily exercises practise not those which conduce to strength, but those which conduce to health; and you will attain this end if you cease from your exertions while you are still able to continue them.

15. Have no fondness for precipitate laughter, and do not show approval of language inspired by rashness;[1] for the latter is foolish, the former insane.

What it is disgraceful to do, deem it dishonourable even to speak of. Accustom yourself to be not churlish but thoughtful; for the former will show you to be self-willed, the latter will show you to be discreet. Consider that [propriety,] a sense of shame, justice, and self-control, especially become you;[2] for by all these a young man's character seems to be adorned.

16. Never hope that you will escape detection when you have done a base action; for even if you are undetected by others you will be conscious of it in your own mind. Fear the gods, honour your parents, reverence your friends, obey the laws.

As to pleasures, pursue those which are reputable; for enjoyment combined with the beauty of innocence is best of all things, and without it worst of all. 17. Beware of slanders, even if they are false; for the multitude know nothing of the truth, but look to appearances. Show that you do everything as before the eyes of all men; for even if you conceal it for the moment, you will afterwards be

[1] *i.e.*, in others. Another rendering is, "do not adopt it yourself."

[2] The objection to this rendering is the meaning "propriety" given to *κόσμον*, which appears only to be used in the sense of "ornament" by Isocrates. An alternative version is: "Consider that a sense of shame . . . especially become you as an ornament." Blass brackets *κόσμον*, and gives *κυσμεῖσθαι* (to be adorned) instead of *κρατεῖσθαι* (to be controlled), which is the usual reading.

detected; and you will gain most respect if you are seen not to do what you would blame others for doing.

18. If you love learning, you will attain to much learning. What you know, preserve by exercise, and what you have not learnt, add to your knowledge; for it is just as disgraceful to hear useful discourse without gaining instruction from it as it is to refuse some good gift when offered to you by your friends. Spend the leisure time of your life in cultivating a ready ear for conversation; for thus you will be able to learn easily what others have acquired with difficulty. 19. Consider that there are many precepts which are better than much wealth; for wealth speedily fails, but precepts abide with a man for ever; wisdom is the only possession which is immortal. Do not hesitate to go a long way to visit those who profess to give useful instruction; for it would be disgraceful if, while merchants cross such great seas for the sake of increasing the property they possess, young men should not even undergo journeys by land in order to improve their understanding.

20. In manner show yourself courteous, and in speech affable; courtesy consists in greeting those who meet you, affability in associating with them familiarly in conversation. Be agreeable to all, but associate with the best men; thus you will avoid being disliked by the former, and will be friendly with the latter. Do not visit the same people frequently nor talk long about the same subjects: for there is surfeit in everything.

21. Exercise yourself with voluntary labours, that you may be also able to endure those which are involuntary. In all things by which it is disgraceful for the soul to be controlled, such as gain, temper, pleasure, or pain, cultivate self-control. You will succeed in this, if you regard as gains those things which will bring you a good name rather than those which will bring you abundance; and as to anger, if you have the like feelings towards those who are in the wrong as you would think it right for others to have

towards *you* if you were in the wrong; and as to delights, if you think it disgraceful to rule your own household and yet be a slave to your pleasures; and as to pains, if you contemplate the misfortunes of others, and remind yourself that you are a man.

22. When secrets are intrusted to you, guard them more carefully than you would deposits of money; for good men must show their conduct to be more trustworthy than an oath. Consider it right to distrust wicked men, as it is to trust honourable men. On secret matters say nothing to anyone except it be equally to the interest of your hearers and of you who speak to them that silence should be kept concerning them.[1] 23. When an oath is imposed upon you, accept it on two grounds only, either to absolve yourself from a disgraceful charge, or to preserve friends from great dangers; but for money's sake swear by no god, not even if you intend to swear truly; for those who do not think you are swearing falsely, will think you are grasping.

24. Make no man a friend before inquiring how he has treated his former friends; expect him to behave to you as he has behaved to them. Make friends cautiously, but when you have made them endeavour to abide by them; for it is an equal disgrace to have no friend and to be continually changing your companions. Do not try your friends at the risk of harm to yourself, and at the same time be not content to make no trial of your companions. This you can manage, if you pretend to be in want when you are not. 25. Make confidences about things which are not secrets as if they were secrets; for, if you fail, you will suffer no harm, and, if you succeed, you will have a better knowledge of the character of your confidants. Test your friends by means of your misfortunes in life and their fellowship with you in your dangers; for as we assay gold in the fire, so we distinguish friends in misfortunes. The way

[1] *i.e.*, before intrusting a secret to anyone, make sure that he has not more interest in letting it out than in keeping it.

to behave best towards your friends is, not to wait for requests from them, but of your own free will to help them in times of need. 26. Deem it as great a disgrace to be worsted by your friends in acts of kindness as to be beaten by your enemies in inflicting injuries. Esteem amongst your companions not only those who grieve over your ill fortune, but also those who are not jealous of your good fortune; for many sympathize with individuals in adversity, but envy them in prosperity. Remember absent friends in your conversation with present friends, that they may think that you do not forget them either when they are absent.

27. In matters of dress resolve to be tasteful, but not a fop; for a man of taste shows a proper magnificence, but a fop unnecessary adornment. Of this world's goods love not excessive acquisition but moderate enjoyment. Despise those who strive for riches, and yet cannot use the possessions which they have; such men are in the position of a man who should get a fine horse when only a poor rider. 28. Try to make wealth a real service to you as well as a mere possession; it is a thing of use to those who know how to enjoy it, but a mere acquisition to those who are only able to acquire it. Value your existing property for two reasons, first, that you may be able to pay off a heavy fine; and, secondly, because you can help a good friend in trouble; but in regard to the rest of life esteem it not excessively but moderately.

29. Be content with the present, but seek after what is best. Throw no man's adversity in his teeth, for fortune comes alike to all, and the future is beyond our ken.

Do services to good men; for an obligation imposed upon a man of worth is a rich treasure. If you do services to bad men, you will be in the position of those who feed other men's dogs; for just as they bark at those who give them food as loudly as at any ordinary persons, so bad men injure their benefactors just as much as those who hurt them.

30. Hate those who flatter as much as those who deceive, for both, if trusted, injure those who trust them. If you accept those friends who court your favour from the worst motives, you will during your lifetime be without those who are willing to incur your displeasure from the best motives.[1] To those around you behave sociably, not haughtily; for slaves will hardly endure the pride of those who are supercilious, but all gladly put up with the humour of those who are sociable. 31. Now, if you will be sociable, you must not be quarrelsome, nor hard to please, nor eager for the mastery in everything; you must not meet harshly outbreaks of temper on the part of those around you, even if they should happen to be in the wrong, but give way to them while they are angry, and reprove them when their temper has quieted down; neither must you be serious about joking matters, nor delight in jokes about serious things (for what is unseasonable always causes pain); you must not do kindnesses unkindly, as is the way of most men, who, while they do them, yet serve their friends ungraciously; you must not be ready with accusations, for that is offensive, nor fond of finding fault, for that is irritating.

32. If possible, avoid drinking-parties; but if ever you should find yourself in such a position, rise, and go before you are drunk. For when the mind is destroyed by wine, it is like chariots which have lost their drivers; for as they rush on without control for the loss of men to guide them, so the soul often stumbles when the intelligence is destroyed.

Show consciousness of immortality in the loftiness of your soul, but remember mortality in moderate enjoyment of this world's goods.

33. Consider education to be so far a greater advantage than the want of it, in that, while all men make gain out of all other defects, education alone actually inflicts damage on

[1] *i.e.*, who are ready to give you the best advice, even at the risk of offending you.

those who possess it; for men have often been punished in deed for the pain they have inflicted in word.[1]

When you wish to make friends of men, speak good of them to those who will repeat it; for the foundation of friendship is praise, as blame is of enmity.

34. In taking counsel make the past a guide to the future: for the unknown is most speedily discerned by means of the known. Take counsel slowly, but execute your resolves promptly. Consider that while the best thing that comes from the gods is good fortune, the best thing that comes from ourselves is good counsel. If you are ashamed to speak freely about anything, but wish to take some of your friends into council, use language implying that the matter affects some other man; for thus you will both learn their opinion and will avoid betraying yourself. 35. Whenever you are proposing to take anyone's advice about your affairs, first look to see how he manages his own; for the man of defective judgment in his own business will never give good counsel about that of others. Now the way to get the strongest inducement to take counsel will be to contemplate the misfortunes which arise from want of counsel; even so we have the greatest care for health when we recall the pains of sickness.

36. Imitate the characters of kings and pursue their ways of life; you will then appear to approve of and emulate them, so that you will have the advantage of getting at once a greater reputation with the multitude and a surer hold upon the royal favour. Obey, too, the laws established by kings, yet consider their disposition to be the strongest law of all. For just as the citizen who lives under a democracy must court the people, so the dweller under a monarchy must look up to the king.

37. If you are set in authority, do not use an inferior

[1] *i.e.*, education must be valuable, seeing that men are eager t acquire it, in spite of the fact that it sometimes entails loss.

agent to conduct your administration; for wherever he goes wrong, people will lay the blame on you. Leave public employments with an addition, not to your wealth, but to your reputation; for the praise of the people is better than great riches. If a cause is bad, do not support it or plead for it; for it will be thought that you are doing yourself what you assist others in doing.

38. Put yourself in a position to get the upper hand, but hold back when you have your fair share, that you may be seen to strive after justice from a sense of equity and not from weakness.

Approve of just poverty more than of unjust wealth; for justice is so much better than riches, in that riches benefit only the living, but justice wins glory even for the dead, and riches are shared even by bad men, but in justice the wicked can by no possibility have any part. 39. Envy none of those who make a profit out of injustice, but rather approve of those who have suffered injury by following justice; for if there is nothing else in which the just have the advantage of the unjust, at least they excel them in goodly expectations.

40. Take thought for everything which concerns your life, but especially cultivate your own reasoning power; for a sound mind in a man's body is the greatest thing in the smallest compass. Try to be in your body a lover of toil, and in your soul a lover of wisdom, that with the one you may be able to execute your resolves, and with the other may know how to foresee what is expedient.

41. Whenever you propose to ask a question, turn it over in your mind beforehand; for with many the tongue outruns the understanding. Choose two moments only for speaking, the one when you know the subject well, the other when it is necessary to speak about it. These are the only occasions on which speech is better than silence; on all others it is better to be silent than to speak.

42. Deem nothing sure in human affairs; for so you will neither be over-joyful in good fortune, nor over-distressed

in evil fortune. Rejoice at the good things which befall you, and grieve in moderation over the ills which come upon you, and in neither case display your feelings to the world; for it is strange to hide property indoors, and yet to walk abroad with your heart upon your sleeve.

43. Beware of blame more than of danger; for bad men should fear the end of life, but good men ill report during life. Try, if possible, to live in safety; but if it should ever fall to your lot to incur danger, seek safe return from war with fair fame, and not with disgrace; for to meet their end is a sentence that destiny has decreed against all men, but death with honour has been assigned by nature to the good as their peculiar possession.

44. Now do not be surprised that much of what I have said does not apply to your present time of life. I was aware of this myself; but my deliberate purpose was, by one and the same undertaking[1] at once to deliver counsel for your present time of life, and to leave with you instructions for the years that are to come. For while you will easily recognize the need for these precepts, yet you will have difficulty in finding a well-disposed counsellor. In order, therefore, that you may not have to seek the rest from someone else, but may bring it forth hence as from a treasure-house, I have thought it right to omit nothing of the counsel which I have to offer you. 45. I shall have much to thank the gods for, if I am not deceived in the good opinion which I have of you; for, in the case of most other men we shall find that, just as of foods they like the sweetest better than the most wholesome, so in regard to their friends also, they associate with those who share their faults rather than with those who admonish them. But you, I think, have formed a contrary judgment to these, as a proof of which I take your industry in the rest of your education; for the man who imposes upon himself the highest rule of conduct is likely to approve of those amongst other men

[1] Another rendering is, "treatise."

who exhort to virtue. 46. Now you would be best spurred on to strive after noble deeds if you understood that even pleasures, too, in the truest sense, we get from them; for in idleness and love of surfeits pains follow close by the side of pleasures, but loving industry in the pursuit of virtue and a temperate ordering of a man's own life ever make[1] delights unalloyed and surer; 47. and, while in the former case men are pleased at first but afterwards pained, in the latter case we have the pleasures after the pains. In all actions we have no such vivid recollection of the beginning as appreciation of the end; for most of the transactions of life we do not pursue for their own sake, but we carry them out with a view to the results. 48. Now lay to heart that, while for common people it is possible to do what first comes to hand, since that is the principle of life that they have laid down from the first, for earnest men it is not possible to neglect virtue, because there will be many ready to rebuke them; for all men hate those who do wrong less than those who profess to be respectable, but are no better than ordinary men: and with good reason: 49. for when we condemn those who lie in word only, we cannot but pronounce to be bad those who in their whole life fall short of previous expectations. We should justly consider that such men do not merely sin against themselves, but are also betrayers of fortune; for while she has intrusted to them wealth and reputation and friends, they have made themselves unworthy of the happiness they enjoy.

50. Now if a mortal may conjecture the thoughts of the gods, I fancy that they too, in their dealings with those nearest to them, have most clearly shown what their feelings are towards the bad and good amongst mankind. For Zeus, having begotten Heracles and Tantalus,[2] as the myths relate and all believe, made the one for his virtue immortal, and chastised the other for his vice with the severest punish-

[1] Another rendering is, "yield as a return."
[2] See Or. v., §§ 109, 144.

ments. 51. By the aid of their example you ought to seek after true nobility, and not merely to abide by what I have said, but also to become acquainted with the best works of the poets[1] and to study all the useful precepts of the sophists[2] as well. 52. For just as we see the bee settling on all blossoms and sipping what is best from each, so ought those who strive after education to have some knowledge of everything, and to collect what is profitable from every side. For it is only with difficulty even by this diligence that a man will overcome the defects of nature.

[1] Writers of moral and didactic poems, such as Hesiod and Theognis.

[2] Not merely the "Sophists" specially so called (see Introd. §§ 1, 7), but the Seven Wise Men of Greece (the most famous of whom was Solon), who are called by Isocrates himself "the Seven Sophists."

TO NICOCLES.

Nicocles was the younger son of Evagoras, King of Salamis in Cyprus; he succeeded his father in B.C. 374. Others place the death of the latter earlier, and the reign of Nicocles B.C. 380-360. Like his father, he was a just and upright monarch, who treated his subjects well. His character, however, was less warlike; he occupied himself much with philosophical studies, and was influential in spreading Hellenic culture, not only in Cyprus, but also in neighbouring countries. His court was frequented by well-known "Sophists." It is probable that he visited Athens, where he stayed some time, and attended the lectures of Isocrates; we have it on the authority of the latter himself that he received valuable presents from Nicocles, although it is doubtful whether his honorarium for the "Nicocles" was as large as is stated—twenty talents. The letter was addressed to the king soon after his accession to the throne. Those who place this event in B.C. 380 assign it to about B.C. 376. If it is assumed that his father did not die until B.C. 374, it must be put somewhat later.

Like the "Demonicus," this is one of the "paraenetic" or "hortatory" addresses, which are classed as a division of the "symbouleutic" or "deliberative" speeches.

It is a letter of general advice to Nicocles, setting forth the duties of a monarch towards his subjects. In the introduction Isocrates points out that kings suffer from the want of teaching and instruction, of which they specially stand in need, and concludes by reproaching the people for always being anxious for something "new," and for neglecting what is profitable.

The treatise has been attributed to Isocrates of Apollonia, but the mention of it in the "Nicocles" (Or. iii. § 11) and the "Antidosis" (Or. xv. §§ 69-72), in which portions of it are introduced piecemeal, is a convincing argument against this assumption.

TO NICOCLES.

1. When men are in the habit, Nicocles, of bringing to you kings garments or brass or wrought gold or other valuable things of the kind, of which they themselves have poor store but you have abundance, it is too clearly manifest to me that they are not making a present but are carrying out a commercial transaction, and that they sell their wares much more artfully than those who avowedly carry on trade. 2. Now, I thought that it would be the noblest and most profitable gift and one most becoming me to give and you to receive, if I were able to define what habits of life you should strive after and what [practices] you should abstain from, so as best to order both your state and your royal office. Private men have many things to educate them, especially the want of luxury, and the necessity of daily taking thought for their livelihood; 3. next, the laws under which they happen in each case to be living, and further, freedom of speech and the power for friends to rebuke each other and for enemies to attack each other's faults without concealment; and besides these things, some of the poets also who have lived before us have left behind precepts showing how men ought to live; so that owing to all these influences it is likely that they will become better men. 4. But princes have no advantage of this kind, but those who ought to have received more education than others, when once they have been established in power, live all their life unadmonished; for the mass of men do not come into close contact with them, and

those who associate with them converse to please. Indeed, being masters of most abundant wealth and the highest power, by failing to make good use of these advantages they have caused many to doubt which life is more worthy of choice—that of those who hold a private station but act righteously, or that of princes. 5. For, when they look merely at their honours, riches, and power, all deem those who are in the position of monarchs to be equal to the gods; but, when they lay to heart their fears and perils, and when, in their examination of them, they see some slain by the last hands that should have done the deed, and others compelled to sin against their nearest and dearest, and others encountered by both these troubles, they think, on the contrary, that any sort of life is more profitable than to reign over all Asia amid such calamities. 6. The cause of this inconsistency and confusion of feeling is that they consider that the office of a king, like that of a priest, can be discharged by any man, whereas of all human responsibilities it is the greatest, and requires the greatest forethought. Now, in each individual action, to give counsel as to the best means of pursuing a right course and of preserving blessings while escaping from calamities, is the duty of those who are constantly with you; but as regards your general line of conduct, what you should aim at and to what you should devote yourself, I will endeavour to set forth. 7. Whether, indeed, my present when completed will be worthy of the design, it is difficult to see at a glance from the outset; for many works both in verse and prose, which, while yet in the minds of their composers, have afforded great expectations, when finished and shown to others, have earned a reputation falling far short of what was hoped of them. 8. Not that the attempt is not laudable, to seek out a neglected field and admonish the kingly office. For those who educate private men benefit them alone, but if a man should exhort to virtue those who rule the multitude, he will profit both classes, those

who possess power and those who are under them; for the former he will make their authority surer, and for the latter he will make their government milder.

9. First, then, we must inquire what is the function of those who reign; for, if we properly grasp the scope of the subject as a whole in its main outline, by keeping that before us, we shall be the better able to speak of the several parts. Now I think that all will agree that it is their duty to relieve their state from misfortune, to keep it safe in prosperity, and to turn it from a small state into a great one; for it is for these objects that all other duties that arise day by day must be performed. 10. And certainly this at any rate is clear, that those who are likely to be able to do this and who take counsel on matters of such moment must not be lax or negligent, but must consider how to become more intelligent than other men. For it has been demonstrated that their kingdoms will be such as they have made their understandings; 11. so that no athlete is so bound to exercise his body as kings are to cultivate their minds. For all the public festivals in the world do not furnish any fraction of the prizes for which you contest every day. Bearing this in mind, you must direct your efforts to surpassing others in virtue as much as you excel them in honour.

12. Now do not think that diligence, while useful in other matters, has no power of helping us to become better and wiser men; and do not condemn us men to the great misfortune of having, in dealing with wild animals, discovered devices by which we tame their spirits and make them of better worth, and yet of not being able to assist ourselves to virtue, but, on the contrary, be convinced that education and diligence have the greatest power to better our nature; 13. associate with the wisest of those about you, and send for any other wise men that you can; consider that you ought not to be unacquainted with any one of the famous poets or sophists, but become a hearer of the former and a disciple of the latter, and constitute yourself a critic of

those inferior to you and a competitor with those superior; for it is by means of such exercises that you will most speedily become such a one as we have laid down he must be who is to reign rightly and to manage his state as he ought. 14. And you would best be able to stimulate yourself to the task, if you were to deem it an enormity that the worse should rule over the better and the foolish command the wise; for the more vigorously you despise the want of sense in others, the more you will cultivate your own good understanding.

15. This, then, must be the starting-point for those who intend to perform any part of their duties, and, in addition to this, one must be a lover of mankind and a lover of the state; for it is impossible to govern well either horses or dogs or men or anything else, unless a man delight in that to which he has to devote his attention. Make the interests of the people your care, and esteem it of the utmost importance to govern in a manner acceptable to them, 16. knowing that, whether they be oligarchies or other forms of government, those last the longest which best win the hearts of the masses. You will be a good popular leader if you neither permit the multitude to commit outrages nor allow them to suffer them, but contrive that, while the best men take the honours, the rest shall suffer no wrong; for these are the first and chief elements of a good constitution. 17. Of ordinances and customs break up and alter such as are not of a good character, and, if possible, be an inventor of the best institutions, or if you cannot do that, imitate what is excellent in other countries. Seek for laws which are as a whole just and expedient and consistent with each other, and which, besides this, cause as few disputes as possible and make the means of settling them as speedy as possible for the members of the state; for all these qualities ought to belong to well-constituted laws. 18. Make industries profitable for them, but lawsuits costly, that they may avoid the latter and take more eagerly to the

former. See that your decisions on mutual disputes are neither partial nor contradictory, but always give the same judgment in the same case; for it is both right and expedient that the judgment of kings should be immutable on questions of justice, like well-constituted laws. 19. Manage the state just as you would your family property, exhibiting in your establishments a splendour befitting a king, and yet observing economy in money matters, that you may at once win glory and keep within your means. Display magnificence, not in any of those great outlays which disappear in a moment, but in the beauty of your belongings and in the bounties you bestow upon your friends, as well as in what I have mentioned before; for expenditure of this kind will still remain your own, while at the same time you will leave to those who come after you things of more value than the expense you have incurred. 20. In religious matters do as your ancestors have taught, and consider that the richest sacrifice and the highest service is to render yourself as good and just as you can; for there is more hope that such men will win some blessing from the gods than those who offer numbers of victims.

Honour your most intimate [friends] in the matter of public appointments, but in deed and in truth those who are best disposed towards you. 21. Consider your surest body-guard to be the virtue of your friends, the goodwill of the citizens, and your own wisdom; for it is by these means that sovereignties are best obtained and preserved.

Devote attention to the private homes of your citizens, and remember that those who are extravagant are spending from *your* treasures, and that those who are industrious are increasing *your* resources; for all the private property of those who dwell in the state belongs to those sovereigns who reign well. 22. Through all your life show that you reverence truth so deeply that your word is more to be trusted than other men's oaths.

Make your state safe for all foreigners and observant of engagements, and pay most respect, not to those visitors who bring gifts for you, but to those who claim to get something from you; for by honouring them you will get more credit with the world.

23. Relieve your citizens of the many fears to which they are liable, and do not desire those who do no wrong to be in dread; for as you dispose the minds of others towards you, so you too will feel towards them. Do nothing in anger, but simulate anger on a proper occasion.

Show yourself one to be feared by allowing nothing of what is going on to escape you, but lenient by making the punishment less than the offence. 24. Show your authority, not by harshness nor by severity of punishment, but by causing all to bow before your understanding and to think that you take counsel for their security better than they themselves. Be warlike as concerns knowledge of war and preparation for it, but peaceful in committing no unjust aggression. Let your intercourse with weaker states be such as you would require that of stronger states to be with you. 25. Do not be contentious about everything, but only about matters that are likely to bring you some advantage if you get the better. Consider that paltriness is shown, not by those who accept a defeat to their advantage, but by those who win a point to their own detriment.

Deem great-souled not those who undertake greater things than they can attain, but those who with noble aims are able to carry out what they take in hand.

26. Envy not those who possess the widest rule, but those who use the power they have to the best purpose, and consider that you will win perfect happiness, not if you rule the whole world amidst fears and dangers and wickedness, but if, being such as you ought to be, and acting as befits your existing position, you have moderate desires and fail in none of them. 27. Make friends, not of all who

desire it, but of those who are worthy of your character, and not of those with whom you will most agreeably spend your leisure, but of those with whose help you will best order the state. Searching should be the trials that you make of those around you, knowing that all who do not associate with you will think that you resemble those who frequent your society.

In the choice of men to be set over affairs which you do not personally transact, remember that you yourself will be held responsible for whatever they do. 28. Place confidence not in those who praise everything which you say or do, but in those who rebuke your errors. Allow freedom of speech to men of sound wisdom, that you may have friends who will help you to examine any questions on which you may be in doubt. Distinguish those who artfully flatter from those who loyally serve, that the wicked may not get the better of the good. Listen to men's conversations about each other, and try to ascertain the character both of the speakers and of those of whom they speak. 29. Punish false accusers with the same penalties as those who commit offences. Rule yourself no less than others, and consider that the most kingly quality is to be a slave to no pleasures, but to have greater command over your desires than over your fellow-citizens.

Do not rashly or thoughtlessly contract any intimacies, but accustom yourself to take pleasure in society whereby you will both be improved yourself and will appear better in the eyes of others. 30. Do not display ambition for those objects which it is possible for even bad men to achieve, but take great pride in virtue, in which the wicked have no share. Of the honours which are paid to you consider that the truest are not those publicly given under the influence of fear, but the expression in private intercourse of respect for your understanding rather than for your position. If you have occasion to show pleasure in any trivial matters, do so privately, but publicly display your

earnestness in the highest things. 31. Do not think that, while others should live in an orderly way, kings may live lawlessly, but make your temperance an example to others, remembering that the character of the whole state takes the likeness of its rulers. Let it be a sign to you that you are reigning well, if you see your subjects becoming more prosperous and more temperate through your care. 32. Consider it of more importance to leave to your children a good name than great wealth; for the one will perish, but the other is imperishable; and whereas money can be got by a good name, a good name is not to be bought by money; and while money falls to the share of bad men as well as good, a good name cannot be won except by those who excel in virtue.

Show richness in your dress and personal adornment, but stern endurance befitting a king in your other habits of life, that those who look at you may on account of your appearance think you worthy to rule, and your associates form the same judgment as the outer world on account of the vigour of your mind.

33. Keep a watch continually on your words and actions, that you may fall into as few errors as possible. The best thing is to hit the exact course which the occasion demands, but when that is difficult to discover, choose to fall short rather than to do too much; for the happy mean is to be found in qualities of defect rather than in those of excess.

34. Try to be at once polite and dignified; for the one befits the princely office, and the other is suitable for society. Now this is the hardest of all my injunctions; for you will find for the most part that those who practise dignity are cold, while those who wish to be courteous suffer loss of dignity; but you must practise both these kinds of virtue, and avoid the disadvantage which attaches to each of them. 35. Whenever you wish to master any subject which kings ought to know, pursue it both by practice and by theory; for philosophy will show you the theory, while exercising

yourself upon actual facts will make you able to deal with events.

Contemplate the chances and accidents that befall both private individuals and princes; for if you bear the past in mind, you will the better take counsel concerning the future. 36. Consider it a shameful thing that, while some private men are willing to die, that by their end they may win praise, kings should not have the courage to pursue those habits by which they will obtain good repute while living. Prefer that the statues you leave behind should be a memorial of your virtue rather than of your person.

If possible, try to preserve safety both for yourself and for the state; but if you should be compelled to run risk, choose rather to die with honour than to live in disgrace. 37. In all your deeds remember your kingly office, and take care to do nothing unworthy of that honour. Do not suffer your whole being to perish together, but, since you have a mortal body, endeavour to leave behind an immortal memory of your soul. 38. Practise speaking of good habits of conduct, that you may become used to have thoughts like your words. Whatever, after deliberation, you think best, execute in action. Imitate the actions of those whose reputations you envy. Whatever counsel you would give your own children, determine to abide by yourself. 39. Make use of what I have said or seek for something better. Consider wise not those who dispute minutely about trifles, but those who speak well on great subjects; not those who promise happiness to others while they themselves are in great difficulties, but those who speak moderately of themselves, while able to mix with affairs and men, and are not discomposed in the changes of life, but know how to bear both reverses and successes well and moderately.

40. And do not be surprised if much of what I say is as well known to you as to me; for it did not escape me, but I was well aware that, among the great multitude of

men, whether rulers or not, there are some who have partially expressed these precepts, others who have heard them, others who have seen other men following them, and others who themselves practise them. 41. But we must not in these discourses [about habits of life] look for novelty, for in them one may not say anything paradoxical or incredible or out of the common, but one must consider that writer to be most accomplished who can make the largest collection of the scattered thoughts of others, and set them forth in the best style. 42. It was also evident to me that, both in poems and in prose compositions, those which give counsel are considered by all men to be most useful, but yet they do not listen to them with the most pleasure, but feel as they do towards those who admonish them; for while they praise the latter, they prefer to associate with those who share their faults, rather than with those who try to turn them from them. 43. As an indication of this one might take the poetry of Hesiod [1] and Theognis [2] and Phocylides; [3] for these, too, men say have proved the best counsellors for human life, but, while saying this, they prefer to spend their time over each other's follies rather than over the precepts of those poets. 44. Further, if one

[1] The earliest epic poet of Greece (after Homer) whose writings have been preserved. We possess (1) "The Works and Days," containing a number of precepts upon agriculture, navigation, household management, and the like, and specifying the days appropriate for each. (2) "The Theogony," an account of the origin of the world and the birth of the gods. (3) "The Shield of Heracles," an imitation of the Homeric account of the shield of Achilles, and most probably not written by Hesiod.

[2] A Greek elegiac poet (born about B.C. 540), belonging to a rich and noble family of Megara. He was a strong supporter of the aristocracy, and for his pronounced views was driven into banishment. Most of his poems (containing a great number of proverbs and precepts) have been lost.

[3] A gnomic poet, or writer of moral maxims, in hexameter and elegiac verse, some few of which are extant. He was born at Miletus about the same time as Theognis at Megara.

were to pick out the so-called maxims of distinguished poets, to which they devoted their greatest efforts, people would take the same attitude towards them; for they would listen with greater pleasure to the most worthless comedy than to such skilful creations as these. 45. But why spend time in giving particular instances? for if we choose to take a general view of human nature, we shall find that most men do not take pleasure either in the most wholesome food, or in the noblest conduct, or in the best actions, or in the most useful creatures, but that in every respect their pleasures are opposed to their best interests, while those who do their duty in any way are thought men of ascetic and laborious lives; 46. how, then, could one please men of this sort by exhortation or instruction or any useful discourse, seeing that, in addition to what I have said, they envy men of wisdom and attribute guilelessness to those who have no understanding, and thus avoid the truth of things, so that they do not even understand their own affairs, but consider it a trouble to think about their private business while delighted to discuss the affairs of other people, and would prefer to suffer bodily sickness than to undergo mental labour and take thought about anything needful? 47. You will find them in society either reviling or being reviled, and in solitude not taking counsel, but indulging in vain wishes. Now I am not speaking against all men, but only against those who are open to the imputations I have made. 48. Moreover, it is clear that those who wish either to compose or to write anything acceptable to the multitude must seek not for the most useful discourses, but for those most full of fables; for men delight to listen to such, just as they delight to look at games and contests. For this reason we may well admire both the works of Homer and of the first inventors of the tragic drama, because, with an insight into human nature, they have made full use of both these kinds of enjoyment

for their works; 49. for Homer told fables concerning the contests and battles of the demi-gods, and the tragedians reduced fables into the form of contests and actions, so that we should not only hear them but also see them. With such examples, then, before us, proof is afforded to those who desire to carry away the minds of their audience, that they must abstain from admonition and advice, and must only say such things as they see that crowds most delight in.

50. Now, I have pursued this subject because I think that it is your duty, as being not one of the multitude, but a king over many men, not to be of the same mind as the world, nor to judge serious things or wise men by the pleasure they give, but to test them in the light of useful actions, 51. especially since those who are engaged in philosophy, while differing as to mental training, some saying that it is by disputation, others by political discussion, others by other methods that their followers will become wiser, all agree in this, that the well-educated man must acquire the power of taking counsel from these respective sources. 52. You should therefore keep clear of disputed points, and test mankind on the footing of what is generally agreed, if possible, observing them when they are giving counsel in times of difficulty, or, if that cannot be done, when they are making general statements about affairs. Those who have no conception of what is required, reject (for it is plain that if a man is of no use himself he will not make another man wise either); 53. but those who have intelligence, and are able to see farther than other people, hold in estimation and honour, knowing that a good counsellor is the most useful and princely of all possessions. And consider that those make your reign most great who can most improve your understanding.

54. Now I have exhorted you to the extent of my knowledge, and I honour you by these means which I possess, and do you choose that others also, as I said at the beginning,

should bring you not the usual gifts, which you purchase at a far higher price from those who give them than you would in the market, but such gifts as even by the roughest usage without a single day's intermission you will never wear out, but will even make greater and more valuable.

NICOCLES OR THE CYPRIANS.

This "speech" is the companion of the last. It is clear from the speech itself that it cannot have been written until the king had been some little time on the throne. The earliest date to which it has been assigned is B.C. 372; some, without giving a definite year, place it somewhere between B.C. 372-365. It is not addressed to the whole people, but only to the most distinguished citizens, who had been called together by Nicocles for the purpose of hearing it. As the last discourse showed the duty of a king to his subjects, so this sets forth the converse duty of subjects to their king. It contains a defence of monarchy as compared with other forms of government, which does not represent the real opinions of Isocrates. This is followed by praises of the reign of Nicocles, which sound rather strange when put into the king's own mouth; he boasts of his descent, and the services he has rendered to his people, promising to continue as he has begun. And the discourse concludes with moral advice to his subjects, impressing upon them how much they owe him, and the way they must behave in order to make the state prosperous and flourishing.[1]

[1] The treatise is also called "Symmachicos" in the argument of an unknown grammarian, as being addressed to the "allies" as well as the subjects of Nicias.

NICOCLES OR THE CYPRIANS.

1. There are people who are hostile to oratory and censure those who study philosophy, alleging that they pursue such studies for the sake not of virtue but of selfish advantage. I should like, then, to hear from those who are of that opinion for what reason they blame those who desire to speak well, while they praise those who wish to act aright; for if acts of selfishness pain them, we shall find such acts arising with greater frequency and to a higher degree from deeds than from words. 2. Further, too, it is strange if they are ignorant of this—that we are reverent in matters of religion, and cultivate justice and practise the rest of the virtues, not in order that we may come off worse than other people, but that we may spend our life enjoying as many blessings as possible; so that we ought not to blame those circumstances which enable a man in the course of virtue to advance his selfish interests, but we should blame the men who go wrong in their actions or deceive by their words and do not make just use of them.

3. I am surprised that those who hold this view do not speak ill also of wealth and strength and courage. For if on account of those who do wrong and tell lies they dislike oratory, they ought equally to condemn all other advantages; for equally among those who possess other advantages it will be found that some do wrong and injure many by means of these advantages. 4. In fact it is not fair, if some men strike those they meet, to lay the blame

on strength, nor because men kill those whom they ought not, to revile courage, nor generally to shift the wickedness of men on to circumstances, but we should blame the men themselves who abuse good things and with means adapted to benefit their fellow-countrymen endeavour to do them hurt. 5. But as it is, neglecting in this way to make a distinction in each case, they are ill-disposed to all discussion, and they have made the great mistake of not perceiving that they are quarrelling with the very quality which of all that are to be found in human nature is most productive of good things. For in the rest of our endowments we do not in any way excel the other animals, but we are inferior to many of them both in swiftness and in strength and in other faculties; 6. but by the presence in us of the power of persuading each other and of disclosing to our own kind whatever we take counsel about, we have not only escaped from the life of wild beasts, but we have come together and founded cities, established laws, and discovered arts, and nearly everything devised by our means has been provided for us by the help of the faculty of discourse. 7. For this faculty it is that laid down the laws concerning things just and unjust, base and honourable; without which ordinances we should not be able to live with one another. By this faculty we convict the bad, and extol the good. By means of this we educate the foolish and prove the wise; for we take right discourse as the greatest proof of wise judgment, and discourse which is true and law-abiding and just is an image of a good and faithful mind. 8. It is with this faculty too that we both dispute on doubtful questions and inquire into what is unknown; for the same arguments by which we persuade others in speech, we also use in our deliberations, and so, while we give the title of rhetoricians to those who can speak in public, we attribute prudent counsel to all who can best discourse of affairs in the privacy of their own minds.

9. To sum up concerning this faculty, we shall find that no wise action is done without the help of discourse, but that discourse is the guide of all deeds and of all thoughts, and is most employed by those who possess the greatest intelligence; so that those who dare to speak evil of educators and followers of philosophy are as deserving of hatred as those who violate the shrines of the gods.

10. Now I approve of all discourses which can benefit us even in a small degree; not but what I deem noblest and most kingly and most befitting me those which advise concerning moral conduct and political institutions, and of these such as teach rulers how to treat the people, and private individuals how to behave towards their rulers; for it is by these means that I see states becoming happiest and greatest.

11. Now the one part of the subject, how to reign, you have already heard from Isocrates; that which follows, the duty of subjects, I will endeavour to set forth, not with any hope of surpassing him, but because this is the subject on which it is most suitable for me to discourse to you. For if through my not disclosing what I wish you to do you should mistake my sentiments, I could not reasonably be angry with you; but if, after a public statement by me, none of my wishes should be followed, I should have a right to censure any who disobeyed.

12. Now I think that I should best exhort and induce you to remember my words and obey them, not by confining myself to giving counsel and leaving off after an enumeration of precepts, but by demonstrating to you first, that we ought to be content with our existing political constitution, not only for necessity's sake, nor even because we live under it all our lives, but because it is the best of all constitutions; 13. and secondly, that I do not hold this rule by lawlessness or usurpation, but by law divine and human, by reason both of my original ancestors and of my father and of myself. For when I have made these things plain before

you, who will not condemn himself to the severest penalty if he should disobey my counsel and ordinances?

14. Concerning political constitutions, then (for that was my starting-point), I think that all consider it a most monstrous thing that good and wicked men should be held in the same estimation, but think it most reasonable that a distinction should be recognized between them, and that those who are unlike should not win like rewards, but that men should fare and receive honour according to their individual merits. 15. Now oligarchies and democracies seek in either case equality for those who share political rights, and what is highly thought of amongst them is that none should have an advantage over another; which is to the interest of wicked men; but monarchies confer most on the best man, second honours on the man who comes next to him, third and fourth places to the rest according to the same principle. And if this is not everywhere realized, still the design of the constitution is of that kind. 16. And indeed all will allow that absolute sovereignties are better able to see through both the characters and actions of men. Would not, then, every wise man prefer to have a part in that kind of constitution in which his good qualities will not lie hidden, rather than to be carried on with the multitude without anyone recognizing what manner of man he is? Then, again, we should be right in judging this so much milder than other constitutions in proportion as it is easier to apply the mind to the sentiments of a single man than to seek to please many various minds. 17. Now that it is pleasanter and milder and more just, one could show for many reasons, not but that it is easy to see this at a glance by means of the above considerations; but as regards the remaining points, we should best observe the superior excellence of monarchies for taking necessary counsel and action, by placing the most important spheres of action side by side, and endeavouring to bring them to the test. Those, then, who year by year enter upon their offices

retire into private life before understanding state affairs or gaining any experience of them; 18. but those who are continuously in charge of the same affairs, even if their natural ability is inferior, are yet in experience at least far in advance of others.

Then, again, the former neglect many things through looking to each other, while the latter overlook nothing, knowing that everything must be done through them. In addition to this, those who rule in oligarchies and democracies injure the public interests by reason of their contending ambitions; while monarchical rulers, not having anyone to be jealous of, do what is best in all cases as far as possible. 19. Moreover, the former fall into arrear in the transaction of business; for they spend most of their time over their private affairs, and, when they meet in council, they are more frequently to be found disputing than deliberating in common; the latter, on the other hand, have no meetings in council, nor times appointed for them, but, being occupied day and night in public business, let no opportunities slip, but do everything at the proper moment. 20. Further, the former are ill-affected towards each other, and would like their predecessors in office as well as their successors to govern the state as badly as possible, that they themselves may get as much credit as they can; while monarchs, on the contrary, being during all their life masters of affairs, are possessed with feelings of good will which also last for all time. 21. But the greatest difference is this: the one class of rulers apply their mind to public affairs as if they were their own concern, the others as if they were the concern of other people, and for advisers on these affairs the latter take the most audacious of the common people, while the former take the wisest men whom they can select from all, and while other rulers honour those who can speak before crowds, monarchs honour those who know how to deal with affairs.

22. But it is not only in the common round of everyday

business that monarchies excel, but they also have grasped all the superior advantages which arise in war. For to raise forces and make use of them, so as either to escape notice or to attract observation, either to persuade or to coerce, to buy of some and win others by other kinds of service —all these things are more in the power of absolute sovereignties than of other forms of constitution. And this may be proved no less from actual events than from arguments. 23. For in the first place the Persian power we all know to have attained such greatness, not because of the wisdom of individuals, but because they more than other nations reverence the kingly office; and in the second place we know that Dionysius the tyrant,[1] who received the rest of Sicily reduced to devastation, and his own country in a state of siege, not only freed it from the existing dangers, but made it greatest among the Hellenic states; 24. and, moreover, we know that the Carthaginians and the Lacedaemonians, who enjoy the best constitution of all the Hellenes, though they are under an oligarchy at home, prefer a monarchy in time of war. And one could show that even the Athenian state, which has the most hatred for absolute monarchies, fails when it sends out a number of generals, but succeeds when it meets dangers by the employment of one only. 25. What clearer proof then could one give than such instances as these that monarchies are far superior to other constitutions? For we see at once that those who are perpetually subject to absolute rule possess the greatest means of power, and that those who have a good oligarchy, in the matters they are most anxious about, establish as master of their armies in one case a single general, in the other a king, while those who hate absolute sovereignties fail to achieve their objects whenever they send out a number of commanders. 26. And if we must refer also to antiquity, it is said that

[1] See Or. v. § 65.

the gods too have Zeus for their king. If this story is true about them, it is clear that they too prefer this order of things; if on the other hand no one knows the truth, but it is we that of our own imaginations have formed this supposition about them, it is a proof that all of us hold monarchy in the highest honour; for we should never have said that the gods employed it, if we did not consider that it far excelled other forms of government. 27. Now on the subject of political constitutions, how far one is better than another, it is not possible either to ascertain or to speak exhaustively; yet, nevertheless, for the needs of the present at all events, sufficient has already been said about them. Now to show that we rightfully hold our rule, the argument is much shorter and more generally acknowledged than what has gone before. 28. For who does not know that Teucer,[1] the original founder of our race, taking with him the ancestors of the rest of my-fellow-citizens, sailed hither, founded the state for them, and apportioned the country among them, and that my father Evagoras[2] recovered the rule which others had lost, after undergoing the greatest dangers, and produced so great a revolution that Phoenicians[3] no longer reign over Salaminians, but in their stead the former rulers now again occupy the throne?

29. There remains, therefore, of the task I proposed, to

[1] On his return from Troy, after the death of his brother Ajax, Teucer was banished from the island of Salamis in the Saronic Gulf, by his father Telamon, because he had failed to avenge his brother's death. By the advice of Apollo, he sailed to Cyprus, where he founded a city called Salamis: see Horace, Odes i. 7, 21.

[2] See Oration ix.

[3] The Phoenicians very early gained a footing in Hellas and its islands. There was a tradition that Cadmus led a Phoenician colony into the heart of Boeotia, and founded a town called Cadmea, which afterwards became the citadel of Thebes. There seems no doubt, from the names, order, and forms of the letters, that the Greek alphabet was derived from the Phoenician. For the Phoenicians in Cyprus, see Or. ix. § 19.

say something about myself, that you may know that your king is such a person, that not only on account of my ancestors, but also on my own merits, I should fairly be thought to deserve even greater honour than I receive. I think that all will allow that the most precious of the virtues are temperance and justice. 30. For not only do they benefit us on their own account, but if we should wish to inquire into the natures, powers, and uses of things, we shall find that such qualities as do not partake of these kinds of virtue are the cause of great evils, while such as are based on justice and temperance benefit in many ways the life of man. Now if any of my predecessors enjoyed fame by reason of these virtues, I think that I too am entitled to a share in the same glory.

31. Now my justice you will best see from the following circumstance. Finding, when I came into power, the royal treasury empty, all our resources exhausted, and public affairs full of confusion and requiring great care, watchfulness, and expense, though I knew that others in similar crises tried to right their affairs by every possible shift, and were compelled to do many things repugnant to their dispositions, 32. I nevertheless was not corrupted by any one even of these considerations, but so righteously and well did I devote attention to affairs that I omitted no means by which it was possible for the state to increase and to make progress towards happiness. Towards my fellow-citizens I behaved with such mildness that no banishments, or executions, or confiscations of property, or any other calamity of that kind has taken place in my reign. 33. When Hellas was inaccessible to us on account of the war which had arisen, and we were being harried on every side, I removed most of our difficulties, paying some in full and others in part, asking for delay from some, and with others seeking reconciliation as far as I could on the subject of their complaints. And, moreover, when the inhabitants of the island were still ill-

disposed towards us and at the same time the Great King, though formally on friendly terms with us, was in fact our bitter enemy, I appeased both these sources of hostility, by zealous service to the king, and by just behaviour to the others. 34. So far am I from coveting what belongs to others, that whereas other rulers, on possessing even a small superiority of power over their neighbours, take slices off their territory, and seek to gain an unfair advantage, I, on the contrary, have not even thought right to accept land offered to me, but I prefer by justice to possess my own country only, rather than by wickedness to win a dominion many times the size of that which I now enjoy.

35. But why need I spend time in mentioning every detail, especially when I can in one word give a clear description of myself? It will be acknowledged that I have never yet done wrong to any man, but have done services to many, both of my countrymen and of other Hellenes, and have given greater gifts to both than all my predecessors on the throne together. Yet all who pride themselves on justice, and profess to be above money ought to be able to speak of themselves in as excessive a strain of praise.

36. Now, further, as to temperance I have yet greater things to tell. For since I knew that all men think most of all of their children and wives, and are especially angry with those who commit offences against them, and that an insult offered to them causes the greatest evils, and that owing to it many have before now perished both among private citizens and among men in power, I therefore avoided so completely these causes of trouble, that from the time I came to the throne, it will be acknowledged that I have never had intercourse with any but my own wife. 37. I was not unaware that rulers enjoy a good repute with the multitude who merely observe justice towards their own countrymen while providing themselves with their pleasures from other sources; but I wished at once to remove myself as far as possible from suspicions of

that kind, and to make my conduct an example to the rest of my countrymen, knowing that the people are wont to spend their lives in following those practices with which they see their rulers occupying themselves. 38. Then, too, I thought it was the duty of kings to be as much better than private individuals as the honours which they receive are greater than theirs, and that it was monstrous conduct for men to compel others to live in an orderly way, while they themselves do not show more temperance than their subjects. 39. Besides, I saw that, while in other matters the majority of mankind obtained the mastery, even the best were overcome by the desires which relate to boys and women; I wished, therefore, to show myself capable of firmness in matters in which I proposed to excel, not only ordinary men, but even those who pride themselves on their virtue. 40. More than that, I considered that men were guilty of great wickedness who, after taking a wife, and entering upon a life-long association, are not content with the arrangement they have made, but by their own indulgences pain those whom they expect never to cause them any pain, and while in other associations of life they behave fairly, do wrong in their dealings towards their wives, whom it was their greater duty to protect in proportion as they are nearer and dearer to them and of greater value than other people. 41. Then again, such kings do not know that they are sowing the seeds of factions and quarrels within their palaces. Yet those who reign as they ought should endeavour not only to keep in harmony the state which they rule, but also their own house and the place in which they dwell; for all these things are the acts of temperance and justice. 42. Nor did I hold the same opinion about the rearing of children as most kings, and I did not think it right to get some children from a mother of humble birth and others from one of higher estate, nor to leave some of them bastards and others true-born, but that all should be able to trace back the same origin both on

the father's and on the mother's side, among mortals to my father Evagoras, and among demi-gods to the sons of Aeacus,[1] and among gods to Zeus, and that none of my offspring should be deprived of this noble birth.

43. Now among many inducements which I have to abide by this course of conduct, I have been especially encouraged by seeing, that while courage and cleverness and other qualities of good repute are shared even by many bad men, justice and temperance are the peculiar possessions of good and true men. I considered it, therefore, the noblest thing to excel other men, if it were possible, in those virtues in which the wicked have no part, but which are the most genuine and stedfast and deserving the greatest praises. 44. For these reasons and on these reflections I have with especial earnestness cultivated temperance, and of pleasures I have chosen not those occasioned by deeds which give no honour, but those inspired by the fame attending manly excellence. Now we should not test all virtues alike in the same sort of circumstances, but justice in poverty, temperance in positions of power, and self-mastery in the years of youth. 45. It will be seen, then, that I have on all these occasions given proof of my character. When I was left in need of money I behaved so justly as to injure none of my countrymen; when I got power, so that I could do whatever I wished, I proved more temperate than those in a private station; and both these difficulties I mastered at that time of life in which we should find the majority of men committing most faults in their conduct. 46. Now before another audience I should perhaps have hesitated to say these things; not that I do not take pride in my achievements, but for fear that my words might not be believed; but you are witnesses for me of the truth of all that I have said. Now it is indeed right to commend and admire

[1] Zeus was the father of Aeacus, Aeacus of Telamon, and Telamon of Teucer. Aeacus, Minos, and Rhadamanthus were the judges of the infernal regions: see Or. ix. § 14 *sqq.*

those who are orderly by nature, but still more those who are so in obedience to reason; 47. for those who are temperate by chance and not by purpose, might by chance also be led astray, but those who, in addition to their natural bent, have also the conviction that virtue is greatest of good things, will clearly remain in this position all their life.

The reason why I have prolonged the discourse both about myself and about the other things which I have spoken of, is that I may leave you no excuse for not carrying out willingly and readily whatever I advise and command.

48. Now I say that each one of you ought to perform his appointed duty carefully and faithfully; for in whichever of these respects you fall short, it necessarily follows that in that respect your actions are faulty. Therefore do not neglect or despise a single one of the tasks enjoined upon you, with the idea that things do not depend upon it, but busy yourselves about them on the understanding that the whole will be good or ill according to each of the parts. 49. Take trouble over my business as well as your own, and do not consider a small reward the honours which they receive who superintend our affairs with success. Abstain from what belongs to others, that you may more securely possess your own homes. You ought to be towards others such as you expect me to prove towards you. 50. Do not make haste to be rich rather than to have a good reputation, remembering that both among Hellenes and barbarians those who have the greatest reputations for virtue are masters of the greatest wealth. Consider that money transactions which are contrary to justice will bring not wealth but peril. Do not think getting to be gain and spending to be loss; for neither of these has always the same effect, but whichever of them happens in season and at the call of virtue, benefits those who do it. 51. Do not show signs of unwillingness in respect to even

one of my commands; for those of you who make themselves useful in the greatest number of my affairs, will confer most benefits upon their own houses. Whatever each one of you is conscious of in his own heart, consider that I too shall not fail to perceive it, but imagine that even if my body is not present, my mind is at hand to see what is going on; for with this conviction you will be more temperate in all your deliberations. 52. Conceal nothing either of what you possess, or of what you do, or of what you purpose to effect, knowing that about matters which are kept secret there must of necessity arise many apprehensions. Do not seek to perform your duties as a citizen in a tricky or underhand way, but so simply and openly that it would not be easy for anyone to slander you even if he wished it. Put your actions to the test and count those amongst them bad which you wish to do without my knowledge, but good when I should think better of you on hearing of them. 53. Do not keep silence if you see any men with wicked designs against my rule, but denounce them, and consider that those who assist concealment deserve the same punishment as the offenders. Attribute good fortune not to those who escape detection when they do anything wrong, but to those who commit no offence at all; for it is reasonable that the former should suffer the same evils as they themselves inflict, and that the latter should earn the gratitude which they deserve.

54. Do not establish political clubs or unions without my sanction; for confederacies of that sort may achieve advantages under other constitutions, but are dangerous under monarchies. Abstain not only from offences, but also from practices of such a nature that suspicion must necessarily attend them. Consider my friendship to be the safest and surest of all. 55. Preserve the existing condition of things and do not desire any change of constitution, knowing that political troubles must of necessity destroy states, and make private homes desolate. Do not think

that it is only their natural dispositions which cause absolute rulers to be harsh or mild, but also the conduct of the citizens; for many have before now been compelled on account of the misbehaviour of their subjects to rule with greater severity than their own inclination suggested. Take courage as much on account of your own virtue as of my mildness. 56. Consider my safety to be your own security; for if my fortunes are on a good footing yours also will be in the same condition. You must be submissive towards my authority, abiding by customs and preserving the royal laws, but splendid in your public services on behalf of the state and in the other tasks imposed upon you by me.

57. Persuade young men to virtue, not only by exhortations but by giving them indications in your actions of what good men ought to be. Teach your children to obey the king, and accustom them to attend as much as possible to this branch of education; for if they learn to be good subjects they will be able to govern many, and if they are faithful and just they will share our rewards; but if they prove bad men they will risk the loss of their existing possessions. 58. Consider that you will hand down to your children the greatest and surest riches if you can leave them our goodwill. Consider most miserable and unfortunate those who have proved untrustworthy to those who trusted them; for it follows that such men must pass the rest of their time in dejection and in fear of everything, trusting their friends no more than their enemies. 59. Envy not those who possess the most wealth, but those who are conscious of no guilt; for it is in such a frame of mind that a man can pass his life most pleasantly. Do not think that vice can profit more than virtue, and that only its name is more hateful, but consider that the effects of things correspond to the names they have severally acquired. 60. Do not be jealous of those who hold the first place in my favour, but compete with them, and try,

by rendering yourselves excellent, to attain equality with the foremost. Think it your duty to love and honour whomsoever the king loves and honours, that from me too you may meet with the same regard. Think of me in my absence as you speak in my presence. 61. Display your loyalty to us in deeds rather than in words. Do not inflict on the rest of the world outrages at which you are indignant when you suffer them yourselves at the hands of others. Do not practise in action what you denounce in speech. Expect your fortune to be such as are your thoughts about us. Do not merely praise good men, but also imitate them. 62. Consider my words to be laws and endeavour to abide by them, knowing that those of you who best carry out what I wish will soonest have the opportunity of living as they themselves wish. The sum of what I have said is that, just as you think those subject to your authority should behave to you, so you too ought to behave towards my authority.

63. Now if you do this, why need I speak at length as to what will follow? For if I continue to act as I have done in the past, and you to render me loyal service, you will speedily see your life improved, my dominion increased, and the state grown happy. 64. It were worth while, then, for the sake of such great blessings, to leave nothing undone, but to endure any toils and dangers; and you now have it in your power to achieve all this, without any hardship, if only you will be faithful and just.

THE PANEGYRICUS.

In the "Panegyricus," the most famous of all the writings of Isocrates, we first meet with a clear exposition of his dominant political idea—the formation of a union of the Greeks to carry on war against Persia. It takes its name from the "Panegyreis," or great public festivals, such as the Panathenaea at Athens, or the pan-Hellenic festival at Olympia.[1] Gorgias, Lysias, and others had already composed speeches which were delivered at Olympia (Olympiac speeches), and it is probable that Isocrates here has in mind the festival at Olympia. It is not likely that the speech was ever actually delivered, although we are told, on the authority of Philostratus, that it was. The retiring disposition of Isocrates, his lack of self-confidence, and his poorness of voice, seem to go against this. It is considered possible that he may have deputed some one else to deliver it for him; and that it afterwards was put into circulation by copies being sent round to the various Greek states.[2] According to the statement of Quintilian, Isocrates was ten years engaged in its composition. Its date is approximately fixed as the latter part of the summer of B.C. 380.

At the time when the speech was written Sparta was the ruling power in Greece, Artaxerxes II. was master of the Asiatic Greeks, and the Aegean was overrun by pirates, so that there was every need of someone to rouse the Athenians to re-assert their supremacy.

After apologizing for coming forward to speak, Isocrates proceeds to recount the services rendered by Athens to Hellas generally, and to particular states in early times, dwelling upon the rivalry of Athens and Sparta during the Persian wars. The first division of the speech concludes with a defence of the Athenians against the charge of having behaved with cruelty towards the confederate states, and a contrast between the past and present condition of the city, now that it is under the arbitrary rule of Sparta.

[1] Gillies, in his translation of this speech, wrongly gives the title as "Panegyrick of Athens."

[2] See Sandys, Introd., p. xli.

In the second part of the speech he recommends that Athens and Sparta should sink their differences, and agree upon united action, especially when such a favourable opportunity presents itself. The Persians, he says, are weak, and have their hands full: the misery of the Hellenes has reached its height, and, under the circumstances, even existing treaties should not prevent us from declaring war; and a united campaign against our hereditary foes will tend to enhance the reputation of the state.

ARGUMENT.[1]

The speech was written at the time when the Lacedaemonians were rulers of the Hellenes and we were in a state of humiliation. It summons the Hellenes to a campaign against the barbarians, and disputes with the Lacedaemonians the right to the headship of Hellas. Having adopted this as my theme, I prove that the city has been the cause of all the blessings enjoyed by the Hellenes. Having clearly marked off the subject of such benefits, and wishing to prove still more clearly that the headship belongs to Athens, I next attempt to show, in regard to these points, that it is the due of the city to receive honour much more by reason of the dangers it has faced in war than on account of all the other benefits it has conferred upon Hellas.

[1] This argument was written by Isocrates himself, see Or. xv. §§ 57, 58.

THE PANEGYRICUS.

1. I HAVE often wondered that those who convene the great festivals [1] and have established athletic contests,[2] have deemed physical excellence worthy of such great rewards, and yet to those who have individually toiled for the public good, and have so formed their minds as to be able to benefit others as well as themselves, to these, I say, they have allotted no honour, 2. for whom they ought to have had more consideration; for if the athletes were to acquire twice the strength they possess, no advantage would accrue to other men; but if one man were to conceive a wise thought all would reap the enjoyment of his understanding who were willing to share in it. 3. Yet I was not so discouraged by this as to yield to indifference; but thinking that the reputation which my speech would win by its unassisted merit would be a sufficient reward, I am here to advise you concerning war against the barbarians [3] and harmony among ourselves. I am not unaware, that many of those who claim to teach the public,[4]

[1] The national festivals of the Olympian, Isthmian, Nemean, and Pythian games, with reference also to the special festivals of different states, such as the Dionysia at Athens and the Hecatombaea at Argos.

[2] The Pentathlum (jumping, running, quoit-throwing, javelin-throwing, and wrestling), and the Pancratium (boxing and wrestling combined).

[3] A very common term for those who could not speak Greek, not necessarily "barbarians," as we understand the word.

[4] For the *Sophists*, or professors of wisdom, see Introd., §§ 1, 7. The special reference here is to Gorgias.

have attempted this subject, 4. but, in the first place, I hope to show such superiority that it may be thought that others [1] have as yet said nothing upon these matters, and at the same time I have already come to the conclusion that the best speeches are those which deal with the greatest subjects, display most clearly the ability of the speakers, and give most assistance to the audience; and of such speeches the present is one. 5. Further, the occasion has not yet gone by, so as to render it useless now to make mention of these things. For it is only time to cease speaking when either the business in hand is over, and it is no longer necessary to take counsel about it, or when the discussion is seen to have reached its limit, so that other speakers have no means left of carrying it further. 6. But so long as events are going on just as before, and what has been said is inadequate, how can we avoid applying thought and study to this address, which, if it be rightly carried out, will release us from our civil war, from the present confusion, and from most serious troubles? 7. In addition to this, if it were possible to represent the same subjects in one way only, it might have been supposed a superfluous task to weary one's hearers by speaking again in the same fashion as former speakers; 8. but since the nature of oratory renders it possible to describe the same things in many different ways—to bring great matters to a low level, and invest small things with importance; to tell old stories in modern fashion, and speak of recent events in the style of ancient history—we must no longer avoid those subjects on which others have spoken before us, but we must try to speak better than they. 9. For the events which are past are left as a common heritage to us all, but to apply them in season, and form a right conception of each event, and to arrange [2] them aright in words is the

[1] Another rendering is: "that it may appear to others (*i.e.*, my audience) that nothing has as yet been said."

[2] Others simply "to represent." The translation given refers

peculiar gift of the wise. 10. Now I think that a very great advance would be made in every pursuit, and especially in the practical study of literary expression,[1] if admiration and honour were to be bestowed in practical affairs not so much on those who take the first step in anything, as on those who bring it in each case to the most successful conclusion, and in oratory, not so much on those who seek a subject on which no one has ever spoken before, as on those who know how to treat their subject in a manner which is beyond the powers of anyone else.

11. And yet some find fault with discourses which are beyond the powers of common men,[2] and are over elaborated; and they have made so great a mistake as to judge compositions which have been written with the object of surpassing others by the standard of forensic contests about private contracts, as if both ought to be of the same kind, instead of the one being framed with a view to simplicity and the other for display; or as if they themselves could discern the happy mean, while a master of elaborate diction would not be able to speak in plain or simple language. 12. Now it is clear that these men only commend those who are like themselves; but I have nothing to do with such, but I look to those who will accept no careless statements, but will indignantly reject them, and will seek to find something in my words which they will not find in others. To such hearers I will address myself on the subject before me, having first made bold to add a few words concerning myself. 13. Others I see striving to mollify their audience in their introductory remarks, making excuses for what they propose to say, and alleging

to the threefold duty of the orator as given in Cicero, Orator. xiv. 43, "*tria videnda sunt oratori: quid dicat* et quo quidque loco *et quomodo.*"

[1] See Introd., § 6, for the meaning of the term "philosophy" in the writings of Isocrates.

[2] Or, "which are beyond the range of (*i.e.*, are over the heads of) ordinary hearers."

either that they have had to make their preparations offhand, or that it is difficult to find words adequate to the greatness of their subject-matter. 14. But for me, if I do not do justice both to my subject and to my own reputation, and to the long experience of my life,[1] as well as to the time I have spent over this address, I bid you have no mercy for me, but hold me in ridicule and contempt; for there is nothing of that sort that I do not deserve to suffer, if, while making such great promises, I show no superiority to others. Let these remarks, then, serve as an introduction with regard to my personal pretensions.

15. Turning to public affairs, there are men who, as soon as ever they come forward to speak, advise us that we ought to make up our mutual enmities and turn against the barbarian, and they enumerate the calamities that have befallen us owing to the civil war, and the advantages that would arise from the proposed campaign against him. Now although these men speak truly, they do not start from the best point for enabling themselves to bring this about. 16. The Hellenes are either subject to us or to the Lacedaemonians; for the forms of constitution by which they govern their states have divided most of them in this way.[2] Whoever, then, thinks that the others will unite in any good policy before he has reconciled those who are at their head, is a mere simpleton, and out of touch with practical affairs. 17. But if a man does not merely aim at personal display, but wishes to effect something, he must seek for such arguments as shall persuade these two states to share and share alike, to divide the supremacy,[3] and to win from the barbarians those advantages which now they desire should accrue to them from the Hellenes. 18. Now our commonwealth would be easily induced to take this course, but the Lacedaemonians are for the present still hard to

[1] He was in his fifty-seventh year.

[2] Into democracies under Athens, or oligarchies under Sparta.

[3] Athens receiving the supremacy on sea, Sparta on land.

persuade, for they have inherited an erroneous notion that it is their ancestral prerogative to be leaders; but if it be shown to them that this honour belongs to us rather than to them, they will soon waive their punctilious claims in this matter, and follow their interests.

19. Now other speakers ought to have started from this basis, and not to have given advice about matters of common agreement before instructing us on disputed points; but I especially am bound, for two reasons, to give most of my attention to this matter: first, if possible, that some useful result may be attained, and that we may cease from our mutual rivalry and unite in a war against the barbarians; 20. and, secondly, if that is impossible, that I may point out who are those that stand in the way of the happiness of Hellas, and that it may be made clear to all that, as previously the old maritime empire of Athens was based on a just title, so now she has a good right to dispute the leadership. 21. For, on the one hand, if the men who deserve honour in each sphere of action are those who have the most experience and the greatest power, it is beyond dispute that we have a right to recover the leadership which we formerly used to possess; for no one can point to any other state that is so pre-eminent in war by land as ours excels in maritime enterprises. 22. And, on the other hand, if any think that this is not a fair criterion, but that fortune is too changeable for such a conclusion (since power never continues in the same hands), and claim that leadership, like any other prize, should be held either by those who first won this honour, or by those who have conferred the most benefits upon Hellas, I think that these too are on our side; 23. for the further back one examines both these qualifications, the more we shall leave behind those who dispute our claim. For it is allowed that our commonwealth is the most ancient and the largest and most renowned in all the world; and, good as is this foundation of our claim, for what follows we have still

greater right to be honoured. 24. For we did not win the country we dwell in by expelling others from it,[1] or by seizing it when uninhabited, nor are we a mixed race collected together from many nations, but so noble and genuine is our descent, that we have continued for all time in possession of the land from which we sprang, being children of our native soil, and able to address our city by the same titles that we give to our nearest relations; 25. for we alone among the Hellenes have the right to call our city at once nurse and fatherland and mother. Yet our origin is but such as should be possessed by a people who indulge in a reasonable pride, who have a just claim to the leadership of Hellas, and who bring to frequent remembrance their ancestral glories.

26. This will show the magnitude of the gifts with which fortune originally endowed us; the great benefits we have conferred upon others we shall best examine by a detailed narrative of the early history and achievements of our city; for we shall find that she has not only led the way in warlike enterprises, but is also the founder of nearly all the established institutions 27. among which we dwell, and under which we carry on our public life, and by means of which we are enabled to live. Now of useful services we must of necessity prefer, not such as on account of their insignificance escape notice and are passed over in silence, but such as on account of their importance are spoken of and kept in memory by all men, both in former times and at the present day and in every place.

28. In the first place, then, the first need of our nature was supplied by the agency of our state; for even though the story is a mythical one, yet it is fit to be told even at the present day. When Demeter came into the country in her wandering, after the rape of Persephone,[2] and was kindly

[1] Like the Spartans at the time of the Dorian immigration into Peloponnesus.

[2] Persephone (Proserpine), the daughter of Demeter (Ceres),

disposed to our forefathers on account of the services they rendered her, which can be told to none but the initiated, she bestowed two gifts which surpass all others: the fruits of the earth, which have saved us from the life of wild beasts, and the mystic rite,[1] the partakers in which have brighter hopes concerning the end of life and the eternity beyond,—29. under these circumstances Athens showed such love for men, as well as for the gods,[2] that, when she became mistress of these great blessings, she did not grudge them to the rest of the world, but shared her advantages with all. Now as to the festival, we to this day celebrate it every year;[3] and as to the fruits of the earth, Athens has once for all taught the uses to which they can be put, the operations which they require, and the benefits which arise from them. 30. Indeed no one will venture to disbelieve this statement, after I have made a few additional remarks. For in the first place, the very considerations which would lead a man to despise the story on account of its antiquity, would give him probable reason to suppose that

while gathering flowers in the vale of Henna in Sicily, was carried off by Dis (Pluto) to the lower world. Her distracted mother, wandering over the whole world in search of her, amongst other places came to Eleusis in Attica, where she was hospitably received by Celeus, king of the country. She remained there for a year, and cursed the earth with barrenness, until a bargain was made with Jupiter, by which Proserpine was to spend six months of the year with her mother. Ceres then removed the curse of barrenness: and, to show her gratitude for her hospitable reception, she established her religious worship in the country, Celeus himself, together with Triptolemus, Diocles, and Eumolpus, being constituted its interpreters. The Hierophant, or high priest of her mysteries, was always chosen from the Eumolpidae. Triptolemus is also said to have been taught by Ceres the art of sowing and ploughing, which he communicated to the world.

[1] The Eleusinian mysteries.

[2] Others render, "and was so beloved of the gods."

[3] The Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated every year in the month of Boëdromion (April), and lasted twelve days.

the events had actually happened; for that many have told the story of these events, and all have heard it, should make us regard it, though not recent, yet as worthy of belief. In the second place, we can not only take refuge in the fact that we have received the tradition and rumour from a distant period, but we can also produce greater proofs than this of these things. 31. For most of the cities of Hellas, as a memorial of our old services, send to us each year first-fruits of their corn,[1] and those that omit to do so have often been commanded by the Pythia to pay the due proportion of their produce and perform their ancestral duties to our state. Yet can anything have stronger claims on our belief than that which is the subject of divine ordinance and of widespread approval in Hellas, where ancient story bears common witness to present deeds, and modern events agree with the legends of men of old? 32. Besides this, if we leave all this out of consideration and take a survey from the beginning, we shall find that those who first appeared upon the earth did not at once find life in its present condition, but little by little procured for themselves its advantages. Whom then should we think most likely either to receive it as a gift from the gods or to win it by their own efforts? 33. Surely those who are admitted to have been the first to exist, and are at once most highly gifted for the pursuits of life and most piously disposed towards the gods. Now what high honour ought to accrue to those who have produced such great blessings, it were a superfluous task to point out; for no one could find a reward commensurate with what has been achieved.

[1] The story is that, during a general famine in Hellas, the Athenians were ordered by the Delphic oracle to offer a sacrifice, called Proërosia, since it was offered at the time of seed-sowing, to Demeter on behalf of the rest of the Hellenes. Thereupon the famine ceased. Out of gratitude the first-fruits of all Hellas were afterwards sent to Athens.

34. So much then concerning the greatest of our good works, first accomplished and most universal in its effects. But, in the same period, Athens, seeing the barbarians occupying the greater part of the country,[1] and the Hellenes confined in a small space and driven by scarcity of land into intestine conspiracies and civil wars, and perishing, either from want of daily necessities or in war, 35. was not content to leave things so, but sent forth leaders into the states who took those most in need of subsistence, made themselves their generals and conquered the barbarians in war, founded many states on both continents,[2] colonized all the islands,[3] and saved both those who followed them and those who stayed behind; 36. for to the latter they left the home country sufficient for their needs, and the former they provided with more territory than they already possessed; for they acquired all the surrounding districts of which we are now in occupation. In this way too they afforded great facilities to those who in later times[4] wished to send out colonists and to imitate our state; for it was not necessary for them to run risk in acquiring new territory, but they could go and live on land which we had marked out. 37. Now who can show a leadership more ancestral than one which arose before

[1] *i.e.*, the country possessed by the Hellenes in the time of Isocrates. In mythical times Greece was limited to Peloponnesus and Attica, the rest of the country being in the possession of barbarian races, such as the Thracians, Carians, and Caucasians.

[2] *i.e.*, Europe and Asia, Africa not being reckoned separately, but regarded as divided between the other two continents; Herodotus, however, reckons three divisions of the world. In Europe the reference is perhaps to the colonies founded by Miletus on the Euxine Sea: others, however, consider that Isocrates means the important colonies of Thurii and Amphipolis, being thus guilty of an anachronism, as these were not founded till later (B.C. 443 and B.C. 437).

[3] Referring to the colonization of the Cyclades at the time of the Ionic migration.

[4] Referring to the Dorian migration.

most Hellenic cities were founded, or more beneficial than one which drove the barbarians from their homes, and led on the Hellenes to such prosperity?

38. Yet, after aiding in the accomplishment of the most pressing duties, Athens did not neglect the rest, but deemed it the first step only in a career of beneficence to find food for those in want, a step which is incumbent upon a people who aim at good government generally, and thinking that life which was limited to mere subsistence was not enough to make men desire to live, she devoted such close attention to the other interests of man, that of all the benefits which men enjoy, not derived from the gods but which we owe to our fellow-men, none have arisen without the aid of Athens, and most of them have been brought about by her agency. 39. For finding the Hellenes living in lawlessness and dwelling in a scattered fashion,[1] oppressed by tyrannies or being destroyed by anarchy, she also released them from these evils, either by becoming mistress of them or by making herself an example; for she was the first to lay down laws and establish a constitution. 40. This is clear from the fact that, when men in the earliest times introduced indictments for homicide,[2] and determined to settle their mutual disputes by argument and not by violence, they followed our laws in the mode of trial which they adopted.

Nay more, the arts also, whether useful for the necessities of life or contrived for pleasure, were by her either invented or put to proof and offered to the rest of the world for their use. 41. In other respects, moreover, she ordered her administration in such a spirit of welcome to

[1] Cecrops, the first ruler of Attica, is said to have divided the country into twelve separate districts, each governed by a separate king, which were united by Theseus into a single state (see Or. x. § 35). Thales proposed that the Ionians of Asia Minor should in like manner unite (Herodotus, i. 170).

[2] With especial allusion to the court of Areopagus: see Introduction to Or. vii.

strangers [1] and of friendliness to all, as to suit both those who were in want of money [2] and those who desired to enjoy the wealth they possessed, and not to fail in serving either the prosperous, or those who were unfortunate in their own states,[3] but so that each of these classes finds with us a delightful sojourn or a safe refuge. 42. And further, since the territory possessed by the several states was not in every case self-sufficing, but was defective in some products and bore more than was sufficient of others, and much embarrassment arose where to dispose of the latter, and from whence to import the former, she provided a remedy for these troubles also; for she established the Piraeus [4] as a market in the centre of Hellas, of such superlative excellence that articles, which it is difficult for the several states to supply to each other one by one, can all be easily procured from Athens.

43. Now those who established the great festivals are justly praised for handing down to us a custom which leads us to make treaties with one another, to reconcile the enmities that exist among us,[5] and to assemble in one place; besides that, in making common prayers and sacrifices [6] we are reminded of the original bond of kinship between us, and are more kindly disposed towards each other for the

[1] In contrast with the Spartan *ξενηλασίαι*, or "alien acts," which discouraged the presence of foreigners: cp. the boast of Pericles (Thucydides, ii. 39), "we open our city to all, and never exclude anyone by alien acts."

[2] Alluding to the *μέτοικοι*, or resident aliens, who settled in Athens for purposes of trade.

[3] Especially those who had been driven from home owing to their democratic proclivities.

[4] The Piraeus was the great port of Athens, and, according to Thucydides, the mart of the whole world.

[5] During these festivals a suspension of hostilities was ordered throughout the whole of Hellas, to enable all who were desirous of attending them to do so without hindrance or danger.

[6] The sacrifices were offered on the first day of the festival by the *θεωροί*, or special ambassadors deputed by the several states.

future, we renew old friendships and make new ones, 44. and neither for ordinary men[1] nor for those of distinguished qualities is the time idly spent, but by the concourse of Hellenes opportunity arises for the latter to display their natural excellences, and for the former to be spectators of their mutual contests, and neither spend their time dissatisfied, but each has whereof to be proud, the spectators when they see the competitors toiling on their behalf, and the competitors when they think that everyone has come to look at them. Great then as are the benefits we derive from the assemblies, in these respects, too, our state is not left behind. 45. For indeed she can show many most beautiful spectacles,[2] some passing all bounds in expenditure,[3] others of high artistic repute,[4] and some excelling in both these respects; then, the multitude of strangers who visit us is so great, that if there is any advantage in mutual intercourse, that also has been compassed by her. In addition to this, you can find with us the truest friendships and the most varied acquaintanceships; and, moreover, see contests not merely of speed and strength, but also of oratory and mind,[5] and in all other productions of art, and for these the greatest prizes.[6] 46. For in addition

[1] *i.e.*, the spectators, non-competitors.

[2] Public buildings, such as the Parthenon and the other "lions" of Athens, with reference also to the "sights" of the games and processions at the Panathenaea and Greater Dionysia.

[3] Demosthenes, Philip., i. 50, says that larger sums were spent upon the Panathenaea and Dionysia than upon any armament, and that they were better attended and more magnificent than almost anything else in the world.

[4] At the Panathenaea, besides the usual games, there were musical contests in the Odeum, recitations of epic poetry, and public disputations by rhetoricians, of which the "Panathenaicus" of Isocrates is a specimen.

[5] Benseler takes the words of "expression and ideas" as exhibited in theatrical compositions.

[6] Crowns of olive-branches and earthen vessels, filled with oil from the sacred olive trees, which were highly prized.

to those which the state herself offers, she also helps to persuade others to bestow the like; for those recognised by us receive such credit as to be universally approved. Apart from this, whereas the other festivals [1] are assembled at long intervals and soon dispersed, our state, on the contrary, is for those who visit her one long festival without ceasing.

47. Practical philosophy, moreover, which helped to discover and establish all these institutions, which at once educated us for action and softened our mutual intercourse, which distinguished calamities due to ignorance from those which spring from necessity, and taught us to avoid the former and nobly to endure the latter, was introduced by Athens; she also paid honour to eloquence, which all men desire, and begrudge to those who are skilled in it: 48. for she was aware that this is the only distinguishing characteristic which we of all creatures possess, and that by this we have won our position of superiority to all the rest of them; she saw that in other spheres of action men's fortunes are so capricious that often in them the wise fail and the foolish succeed, and that the proper and skilful use of language is beyond the reach of men of poor capacity,[2] but is the function of a soul of sound wisdom, 49. and that those who are considered clever or stupid differ from each other mainly in this respect; she saw, besides, that men who have received a liberal education from the very first are not to be known by courage, or wealth, or such-like advantages, but are most clearly recognised by their speech, and that this is the surest token which is manifested of the education of each one of us, and that those who make good use of language are not only influential in their own states, but also held in honour among other people. 50. So far has Athens left

[1] The Olympian and Pythian games were celebrated every four, the Isthmian and Nemean every three years, the Panathenaea annually.

[2] Or, "ordinary poor men" who had not enough money to pay the fees for instruction in the art of oratory.

the rest of mankind behind in thought and expression that her pupils have become the teachers of the world, and she has made the name of Hellas distinctive no longer of race but of intellect, and the title of Hellene a badge of education rather than of common descent.

51. But that I may not seem to be lingering over details of my subject when I proposed to treat of the whole, nor to be eulogizing Athens on these grounds from inability to praise her for her achievements in war, I will say no more to those who take pride in what I have mentioned; but I think that our forefathers deserve to be honoured as much for the dangers they incurred as for the rest of their services. 52. Neither small nor few nor obscure were the struggles they endured, but many and terrible and great, some for their own country, others for the general liberty; for during the whole time they did not cease to open their state to all, and were the champions of those among the Hellenes who from time to time were the victims of oppression. 53. For that very reason some accuse us of a foolish policy, in that we have been accustomed to support the weaker, as if such arguments did not rather justify our admirers. For it was not in ignorance of the superiority of great alliances in regard to security that we took these counsels concerning them, but, while knowing much more accurately than other men the results of such a course, we nevertheless preferred to help the weak even against our interest rather than for profit's sake to join in the oppressions of the strong.

54. Now the character and the strength of Athens may be seen from the supplications which have been addressed to us in times past. I will pass over those of recent occurrence[1] or small importance;[2] but long before the Trojan war (for

[1] Such as the request of the Corcyreans for assistance against Corinth, which eventually led to the Peloponnesian war.

[2] Such as the mission of Gorgias to Athens, at a time when the inhabitants of Leontini were oppressed by Syracuse.

it is fair to borrow proofs from that time in a dispute about ancestral claims) there came the sons of Heracles, and a little before them Adrastus, the son of Talaus, King of Argos;[1] 55. the latter came from his expedition against Thebes, in which he had been defeated, being unable without aid to recover the bodies of those who had been slain under the Cadmea,[2] and calling on our state to render assistance in a misfortune that may happen to all, and not to suffer those who had died in war to go unburied, nor an old custom and ancestral usage to be broken; 56. the sons of Heracles[3] came fleeing from the enmity of Eurystheus, and, passing over all other states as not likely to be able to help them in their calamities, they thought our state alone adequate to make recompense for the benefits which their father had conferred upon all mankind. 57. From these circumstances, then, it is easy to see that even at that time our state possessed a kind of supremacy; for who would care to sue for help either to the weaker, or to those subject to others, passing by those possessed of greater power, especially on affairs not of private but of public interest, the care of which would naturally fall upon those who claimed to stand at the head of Hellas? 58. Further, they are shown not to have been disappointed of the hopes which caused them to take refuge with our forefathers.

[1] The Thebans, after their victory over the seven princes who had attacked them under the leadership of Adrastus, refused to give back the bodies of their fallen enemies for burial: Adrastus then appealed for assistance to Theseus, who procured their restoration by force of arms, or, according to another account given by Isocrates himself (Or. xii. § 169), by diplomatic representations.

[2] The town called Cadmea, founded by Cadmus, afterwards became the citadel of Thebes.

[3] After the death of Heracles, his bitter enemy Eurystheus endeavoured to slay his three sons. They fled from Argos, and, after many wanderings, reached Attica, where they found shelter with Demophon. Eurystheus afterwards attacked the Athenians, but was defeated and taken prisoner, or, according to another account, slain by Hyllus, one of the sons of Heracles.

For they took up arms, first on behalf of those who had fallen in battle against the Thebans, and secondly on behalf of the sons of Heracles against the power of Eurystheus, and by an attack on the former forced them to give up the dead to their kindred for burial,[1] and, when the Peloponnesian followers of Eurystheus invaded our territory, they went out against them and conquered them in battle, and made him to cease from his insolence. 59. Now these deeds added a fresh glory to the reputation they had already won by their previous achievements. For they did not act half-heartedly, but so revolutionized the fortunes of each of these monarchs, that the one who thought fit to supplicate us went away, having in the teeth of his foes achieved all that he wanted, while Eurystheus, expecting to prevail by force, was taken captive and himself compelled to become a suppliant; 60. and, although on one who transcended human nature, who though begotten of Zeus was still mortal, but had the strength of a god, he had spent all his life in casting commands and insults, yet, when he offended against us, he met with such a reverse of fortune that he came into the power of his own sons and ended his days in contumely.[2] 61. Now many as are the services we have rendered to Lacedaemon,[3] there is only one of which it has fallen to me

[1] Cp. Herodotus, ix. 27, "When the Argives led their troops with Polynices against Thebes, and were slain and refused burial, it is our boast that we went out against the Cadmeians, recovered the bodies, and buried them at Eleusis in our own territory" (Rawlinson's translation, quoted by Sandys). The discrepancy between the account here given and that in the "Panathenaicus" is explained by the fact that, when that speech was written, Athens was on friendly terms with Thebes, and therefore Isocrates thought it politic to tone down the story.

[2] Alcmene, the mother of Heracles, is said to have dug out his eyes.

[3] During the Second Messenian War (B.C. 685-668), the Spartans, by command of the Delphic Oracle, applied to Athens for a leader. She sent them Tyrtaeus, a lame man and a schoolmaster, who so inspirited them by his martial songs, that they renewed the war,

to speak; seizing as an opportunity the deliverance which was won for them by us, the ancestors of those who now reign in Lacedaemon,[1] and descendants of Heracles, went down into Peloponnesus, occupied Argos and Lacedaemon and Messene, became the founders of Sparta, and were the originators of all their present greatness. 62. These things they should have remembered and never have invaded this country,[2] from which their forefathers set out and won such prosperity, nor have brought into danger the state which bore the brunt of battle in the cause of the sons of Heracles, nor, while bestowing the crown upon his posterity, should they have thought fit to enslave the state[3] which brought deliverance to his race. 63. Now if we must leave out of consideration gratitude[4] and courtesy and, returning to the original question, consider the matter strictly, it is surely not an ancestral custom that aliens should rule over the children of the soil, the recipients of kindness over their benefactors, suppliants over those who gave them welcome.

64. But I have yet a shorter way of proving my contention. Of the Hellenic states, with the exception of ours, Argos, Thebes, and Lacedaemon were the greatest in former times and still continue to be so. Now so great was the manifest superiority of our ancestors over all others, that on behalf of the defeated Argives they dictated terms to Thebes in the height of her pride, 65. and on behalf of the sons of

and in the end completely subjugated the Messenians. On another occasion, when the Spartans were besieging the ancient Messenian stronghold of Methone (B.C. 464), Cimon prevailed upon the Athenians to send himself with a large force to assist in the siege.

[1] The descendants of Eurystheus and Proclus.

[2] As they frequently did during the Peloponnesian war.

[3] Referring to the rule of the Thirty Tyrants set up at Athens, with the co-operation of the Spartan Lysander, after the final defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami (B.C. 405).

[4] *i.e.*, I will not dwell any longer on the ingratitude and discourtesy of Sparta.

Heracles they conquered in battle the Argives and the rest of the Peloponnesians, and rescued the founders of Sparta and the leaders of the Lacedaemonians from the dangers of their contest against Eurystheus. So that I do not know what clearer demonstration could be made of their sovereign power in Hellas.

66. Now I ought, I think, to speak also of the achievements of Athens against the barbarians, especially as the leadership of Hellas against them was the original subject of my speech. Now if I were to enumerate all the perils we went through I should be telling too long a tale; but in dealing with the greatest of them I will try to adopt the same method of narration that I followed just now. 67. For the races best fitted for rule and the possessors of the widest imperial power are the Scythians, the Thracians, and the Persians, and it happens that all these have had hostile designs against us, and that our state has fought decisively against all of them. Now what argument will be left for my opponents, if I can prove that, if any of the Hellenes were unable to get justice, it was to Athens that they directed their petitions, and that, when barbarians wished to enslave Hellas, Athens was the first object of their attacks?

68. Now although the Persian war is the most famous that has taken place, yet ancient events are equally good evidence in a dispute about ancestral claims. For, when Hellas was still of low estate, there came into our country Thracians[1] under Eumolpus, the son of Poseidon, and Scythians under the Amazons,[2] the daughters of Ares, not

[1] These Thracians of the mythical period are said to have been an entirely different race from the later historical Thracians. According to the legend, Eumolpus, son of Poseidon, invaded Attica with a band of Thracians to assert his claim to the country as the property of his father Poseidon, but was defeated and slain together with his two sons.

[2] The Amazons were a warlike tribe of women, dwelling at Thermodon, on the Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea). In consequence

at the same time, but at the times when their rule extended as far as Europe; hating as they did the whole race of the Hellenes, they directed their complaints against us in particular, thinking that in this way they would encounter one state only and yet at the same time become masters of all. 69. They did not, however, succeed, but in conflict with our ancestors alone they were destroyed as utterly as if they had made war against all mankind. Now the magnitude of the disasters which befell them is perfectly clear; for the traditions on this subject would never have lasted for so long, had not the actual events been unparalleled. 70. It is said of the Amazons that, of those who came, not one went back again, and that those who were left behind were driven from power on account of the disaster which had happened here, and of the Thracians that, whereas in previous times they had been living as our immediate neighbours,[1] owing to the campaign which then took place they fell back so far, that in the intervening territory many nations and various races and great cities were established.

71. Now honourable indeed are these deeds, and befitting those who dispute for the leadership; but akin to those which I have mentioned, and such as were to be expected from the descendants of men so great, were the achievements of those who made war against Darius and Xerxes.[2] For although that was the greatest war ever set on foot, and never had so many perilous struggles taken place at one and the same time—against enemies who fancied themselves irresistible on account of their numbers, and allies[3] who considered their valour unsurpassable—our ancestors con-

of their queen Hippolyte having been carried off by Theseus they invaded Attica, but were defeated.

[1] In Eleusis.

[2] For the history of the Persian Wars, consult Thirlwall or Grote.

[3] Others refer this to the allies of the *Athenians*, especially the Lacedaemonians and Aeginetans.

quered both, 72. in the way that was suitable in each case, and proving superior in the face of every danger, earned as an immediate reward the meed of valour,[1] and not long afterwards obtained the dominion of the sea, at the gift of the rest of the Hellenes, and without dispute from those who now seek to rob us of it.[2]

73. Now let no one think me ignorant that the Lacedaemonians, too, in those critical times deserved credit for many good services to Hellas; but on this account I have even more reason to praise our state, in that, in conflict with such great competitors, she proved so far superior to them. But I wish to speak a little more at length about these two states, and not to skim over the subject too quickly, that it may be to us a memorial, both of the valour of our ancestors and of the hatred of the barbarians. 74. And yet I am not unaware that it is difficult for one who comes latest to the task to speak of a subject long ago occupied by previous speakers, and on which those citizens best able to speak have often spoken on the occasion of public funerals;[3] for it follows that the chief part must have been already used up, and

[1] After the battles of Artemisium and Salamis (both in B.C. 480). After the latter engagement the palm of individual merit was almost unanimously awarded to the Aeginetans.

[2] At the time of the formation of the Confederacy of Delos (B.C. 477), when the allies, disgusted at the insolence of the Spartan Pausanias, begged Aristides to assume the command of the combined fleet.

[3] Sandys gives the following list of funeral orations: (1) the speech of Pericles in honour of those who fell before Samos [which had revolted from Athens], B.C. 440; (2) the speech of Pericles in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 431), see Thucydides, ii. 35-46; (3) the oration of Gorgias; (4) the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος of Lysias, to commemorate those who fell in the Corinthian war (B.C. 394); (5) the Menexenus of Plato; (6) the speech of (?) Demosthenes, delivered after the battle of Chaeronea (B.C. 338); (7) the funeral oration of Hyperides over those who fell in the Lamian war.

only a few unimportant points omitted. Nevertheless, starting from what still remains to be said, since it is convenient for my purpose, I must not shrink from making mention concerning them.

75. Now I think that the greatest services have been rendered and the greatest praises deserved by those who exposed their persons in the forefront of danger for the sake of Hellas; yet it is not fair either to forget those who lived before this war and held power in these two states respectively. For they it was who trained beforehand those coming after them, inclined the multitude to virtue, and created formidable antagonists for the barbarians. 76. For they did not despise the public interests, nor enjoy the resources of the state as their own, while neglecting her interests as no concern of theirs; but they were as solicitous for the common welfare as for their own domestic happiness, and at the same time properly stood aloof from matters which did not affect them. They did not estimate happiness by the standard of money, but they thought that the surest and best wealth was possessed by the man who pursued such conduct as would enable him to gain the best reputation for himself and leave behind the greatest fame for his children. 77. They did not emulate one another's shameless audacity, nor cultivate effrontery in their own persons, but deemed it more terrible to be ill-spoken of by their fellow-citizens than to die nobly for the state, and were more ashamed of public errors than they are now of their own personal faults. 78. The reason of this was that they took care that their laws should be exact and good, those concerned with the relations of every-day life even more than those that had to do with private contracts. For they knew that good men and true will have no need of many written documents, but, whether on private or public matters, will easily come to an agreement by the aid of a few recognised principles. 79. Such was their public spirit, that the object of their political parties

was to dispute, not which should destroy the other and rule over the rest, but which should be first in doing some service to the state; and they organized their clubs, not for their private interests, but for the benefit of the people. 80. They pursued the same method in their dealings with other states, treating the Hellenes with deference and not with insolence, considering that their rule over them should be that of a general, not of a despot, and desiring to be addressed as leaders rather than masters, and to be entitled saviours and not reviled as destroyers; they won over states by kindness instead of overthrowing them by force; 81. they made their word more trustworthy than their oath is now, and thought it their duty to abide by treaties as by the decrees of necessity; not proud of their power so much as ambitious to live in self-restraint, they thought it right to have the same feelings towards their inferiors as they expected their superiors to have towards them, and they considered their own cities as merely private towns, while they looked upon Hellas as their common fatherland. 82. Possessed of such ideas, and educating the younger generation in such manners, they brought to light such valiant men in those who fought against the barbarians from Asia, that no one, either poet or sophist,[1] has ever yet been able to speak in a manner worthy of their achievements. And I can readily excuse them; for it is just as hard to praise those who have surpassed the virtues of other men as those who have never done anything good; for whereas the latter have no deeds to support them, the former have no language befitting them. 83. For what language could be commensurate with the deeds of men who were so far superior to those who made the expedition against Troy, that, while they spent ten years against one city, those men in a short time defeated the whole might of Asia, and not only saved their own countries but also

[1] Rhetoricians (elsewhere called λόγων εὑρεταί), such as Gorgias.

liberated the whole of Hellas? And what deeds or toils or dangers would they have shrunk from attempting in order to win living reputations, when they were so readily willing to lose their lives for the sake of a posthumous fame? 84. And I even think that the war must have been contrived by one of the gods in admiration of their valour, that men of such quality should not remain in obscurity nor end their lives ingloriously, but should be thought worthy of the same rewards as those children of the gods who are called demi-gods; for even *their* bodies the gods rendered up to the inflexible laws of nature, but made immortal the memory of their valour.

85. Now, continuous as was the jealousy between our ancestors and the Lacedaemonians, yet in those times they exercised their rivalry for the highest objects, considering themselves to be not enemies but competitors, and not courting the barbarian with a view to the servitude of Hellas, but having one aim in the common safety, their only rivalry being which of them should achieve it. Now the first proof they gave of their high qualities was on the occasion of the expedition sent by Darius: 86. for when the enemy landed in Attica our ancestors on their part did not wait for their allies;[1] but, treating the public peril as if it were their own, they went with their own forces alone[2] to meet a foe who had despised the whole of Hellas, prepared with their small numbers to encounter many myriads, as if other men's lives and not their own were at stake; and the Lacedaemonians no sooner heard of the war in Attica than, neglecting everything else, they came to help us, making as much haste as if their own country were being laid waste. 87. A proof of their

[1] The real reason why the Athenians did not wait for the Spartans was that there was no time to do so. The Spartans, from religious scruples, did not start until it was full moon, and when they arrived it was too late, as the battle (Marathon) was over.

[2] As a matter of fact they were also aided by the Plataeans.

rapidity and emulation is that our ancestors are said on one and the same day [1] to have heard of the landing of the barbarians, marched out to protect the borders of their territory, fought a victorious engagement and set up a trophy over their enemies, while the Lacedaemonians in three days and as many nights traversed twelve hundred stadia [2] in marching order. So strenuously did they hasten, the one to share in the dangers, and the others to fight before reinforcements should arrive.[3] 88. The next occasion was that of the subsequent expedition, which Xerxes led in person,[4] leaving his royal residence and making bold to become a general, and collecting all Asia together; in the description of whose fall the highest flights of eloquence have fallen short of the reality. 89. He reached such a pitch of arrogance that, deeming it a small task to subdue Hellas, and wishing to leave such a memorial behind him as human nature cannot attain to, he did not cease till he had devised and forced to completion the feat which is in everyone's mouth, of sailing with his army across the mainland and marching on foot through the sea, by bridging the Hellespont, and cutting a canal through Athos.

90. It was one, then, of such lofty pride and such great achievements, master of so many men, that they went to encounter, dividing the risk between them,—the Lacedaemonians to Thermopylae [5] against his land forces,

[1] An exaggeration: according to Herodotus the Greeks were encamped for several days opposite the Persians.

[2] About one hundred and fifty miles.

[3] Miltiades really pushed on because he was afraid of disaffection amongst the soldiers.

[4] Darius, on the contrary, only dispatched his generals to conduct the campaign.

[5] The famous pass of Thermopylae, in Eastern Locris, ran between Mount Oeta and the sea. The hot springs -from which it derives its name—and a tumulus, believed to be that of the Spartans who fell with Leonidas, may still be seen. It is thus described by

choosing a thousand of their number and taking a few of their allies with them, intending in the narrow pass to bar their further advance, and our ancestors to Artemisium,[1] having manned sixty triremes against the whole fleet of the enemy. 91. And they took heart to do these things, not so much from contempt of their enemies as in rivalry with each other, the Lacedaemonians envying our state the battle of Marathon and seeking to do the like, and fearing lest twice in succession Athens should bring deliverance to the Hellenes, while our people on their part wished above all to preserve their existing fame, and to make it clear to all that their former victory too was due to valour and not to luck, and in the next place also to encourage the Hellenes to undertake a sea-fight, by proving to them that in naval ventures just as in those by land it is the prowess of the common people that prevails. 92. But though they displayed equal daring, their fortunes were not alike; the Lacedaemonians were destroyed —their spirits were victorious—their bodies only fainted and failed (for indeed it would be a sin to say that they were defeated; for no one of them deigned to flee); our ancestors on their part defeated the advanced squadron, but when they heard that the enemy were masters of the pass, they sailed back home, [arranged affairs in the city], and directed the remainder of their efforts so well, that, many and glorious as were their previous achievements, they excelled yet more in the closing scene of their

Herodotus: "at Thermopylae a steep and inaccessible mountain rises on the west side in the direction of Oeta: on the east side are the sea and marshes. There are warm springs in the pass, and an altar of Heracles stands near them. Going from Trachis to Hellas the road is but half a plethrum [fifty feet] wide, yet the narrowest part is not there, but just in front, and in the rear of Thermopylae, where there is only room for one vehicle."

[1] A long beach in northern Euboea, so close to Thermopylae that what happened at one place could be seen from the other.

perils. 93. For all the allies were in despondency, and the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus[1] and seeking only their own safety, while the other states had become subject to the barbarians and were serving in their ranks, except such as were neglected on account of their insignificance; one thousand two hundred triremes were sailing against them, and an innumerable land force was on the point of invading Attica; yet, although they could see no gleam of deliverance, but were bereft of allies and disappointed of all their hopes,—94. though they might have not merely escaped the dangers besetting them, but have received special distinctions,[2] which the Great King offered them in the belief that, if he added the fleet of our state to his forces, he would immediately conquer Peloponnesus as well,—they would hear nothing of his gifts, nor did they in anger against the Hellenes for their betrayal gladly hasten to make terms with the barbarians, 95. but for their own part they made ready to fight for freedom, and forgave the others for preferring slavery. For they considered that, though the humble states were right in seeking safety by every means, those which claimed to be at the head of Hellas could not possibly try to escape their peril, but that, just as for men of truth and honour it is more preferable to die honourably than to live in disgrace, so too for states of high position it is more profitable to disappear from among men than to be seen in a state of slavery.

96. Now it can be shown that such were their thoughts; for as they were not able to marshal their forces against both the hostile armaments at the same time, they took with them all the multitude from the city and sailed out to the neighbouring island, that they might encounter each

[1] Of Corinth.

[2] The headship of Greece and valuable presents. The offer was really made by Mardonius after the battle of Salamis, before the battle of Plataea in the following year (B.C. 479).

force in turn.[1] Now how could men be shown better or more loyal to Hellas than they, who, to avoid bringing slavery on the rest, endured to look calmly upon their city made desolate, their land being laid waste, their sanctuaries plundered and their temples burnt, and the whole war centred upon their own country? 97. And indeed, even this did not satisfy them, but they were ready to maintain a sea-fight single-handed against one thousand two hundred triremes. Yet they were not permitted to do so; for the Peloponnesians, put to shame by their valour, and thinking that, if our men were destroyed first, they themselves would not escape either, whereas, if they succeeded, they would bring dishonour upon their own states, were compelled to share the peril. Now as to the din which arose in the engagement, the cries, and the shouts of encouragement, which are common to all sea-fights, I do not know that I need spend time in describing them; 98. but what is peculiar to this engagement, and worthy of the leadership of Hellas, and in harmony with what has been said before, this it is my duty to tell of. So far was our state superior when its power was unimpaired, that after being laid waste it contributed, in the first place, for the battle on behalf of Hellas, more triremes than all the rest who joined in the fight, and, in the second place, no one is so hostile to us that he would not allow that it was by reason of the sea-fight that we conquered in the war, and that this fight was brought about by Athens. 99. Now when an expedition against the barbarians is being proposed, who ought to have the leadership? Surely they who in the former war won the greatest fame, having often borne the brunt on their own shoulders, and in united contests having gained the prize of valour? Surely they who abandoned their own country for the general deliverance, and who not only in

[1] *i.e.* first by sea and then by land.

olden times founded most of the Hellenic states, but also in later days rescued them from the greatest disasters? Should we not be most hardly treated, if, after having endured the largest share of troubles, we should be thought worthy of a lesser share of honours, and, after having in those days occupied the foremost post, should now be compelled to follow the lead of others?

100. Now up to this point I know that all will allow that our state had rendered more services than any other, and would be fairly entitled to the leadership; but after this, some begin to accuse us on the ground that, when we succeeded to the empire of the sea, we became a source of much mischief to Hellas, and in this connection they reproach us with the enslavement of the Melians[1] and the destruction of the Scionaeans.[2] 101. Now I think, in the first place, that it is no indication that we ruled badly, that

[1] "In B.C. 416 the Athenians attacked and conquered Melos, which island and Thera were the only islands in the Aegean not subject to the Athenian supremacy. The Melians having rejected all the Athenian overtures for a voluntary submission, their capital was blockaded by sea and land, and after a few months surrendered. On the proposal, as it appears, of Alcibiades, all the adult males were put to death, the women and children sold into slavery, and the island colonized afresh by five hundred Athenians. This horrible proceeding was the more indefensible as the Athenians, having attacked the Melians in full peace, could not pretend that they were justified by the custom of war in slaying the prisoners. It was the crowning act of insolence and cruelty displayed during their empire, which from this period began rapidly to decline" (Smith, "Smaller Hist. Greece," p. 113). See Thucydides, v. 84-116; Grote, "Hist. of Greece," ch. lvi.; Thirlwall, vol. iii. p. 361.

[2] Scione, on the peninsula of Pallene (the most western of the three peninsulas or tongues of Chalcidice, the other two being Sithonia and Acte), revolted from Athens, through the influence of Brasidas, in B.C. 423: two years later it was captured by the Athenians, after having endured a blockade; its male inhabitants were put to death, the men and women made slaves, and the lands of the exterminated people granted to the Plataeans: see Thirlwall, vol. iii., pp. 293, 318.

some of those who made war against us are shown to have been severely chastised, but it is a much stronger proof of the excellence of our government of our allies, that of the states which were subject to us not one met with such disasters. 102. In the second place, if any others had dealt with similar affairs in a more lenient spirit, they might have good reason to censure us; but since this is not the case, and at the same time it is impossible to govern states so many in number without chastising those who commit offences, do we not even deserve praise for that we were able to hold our empire longest with least harshness?[1] 103. I think all are of opinion that those will prove to be the best rulers of Hellas, under whom their subjects are found to fare best. Under our leadership, then, more than any other, we shall find that both private households increased in prosperity and that cities became great. 104. For we did not envy the growing cities nor cause disorder within them by planting side by side opposing forms of constitution,[2] that the inhabitants might fall into factions and each party court our favour, but, considering the harmony of our allies to be a common benefit, we governed all the states on the same principles; our policy regarding them was that of allies and not of masters, exercising a general superintendence, and yet allowing them to be indi-

[1] Lit., "showing resentment against the smallest number possible." Isocrates himself, in Or. xii. § 65, says that the continuous rule of Athens lasted sixty-five years, *i.e.*, from the establishment of the Confederacy of Delos to the destruction of the Athenian armament in Sicily (B.C. 477-413); in § 106 (if the MS. reading be kept) he gives its duration as seventy years. Demosthenes gives it variously as forty-five years (B.C. 477-432, thus excluding the Peloponnesian war), sixty-five years, and seventy-three years (B.C. 477-405, the date of the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami).

[2] Others render "hostile states," established by Sparta (against whom this whole passage is directed) side by side, to act as a check upon one another.

vidually free; 105. we helped the people, and made war against arbitrary power,[1] thinking it monstrous that the many should be subject to the few, and that those who are poorer in substance than others, but in other respects no whit inferior, should be driven from office, and more, that, in a country common to all, some should be despots and others mere settlers,[2] and that those who are citizens by nature should by law be deprived of all share in the administration.

106. Having such grounds of complaint against oligarchies, and more than these, we set up in the other states the same constitution as our own, which I see no need for commending at length, especially as I can give an account of it in a few words. For under it they continued living[3] for seventy years unacquainted with tyrannies, free as regarded the barbarians, undisturbed by faction amongst themselves, and at peace with all men. 107. For these reasons wise men ought far rather to be grateful to us than cast in our teeth the settlements which we used to send out[4] to thinly populated cities to secure protection to their territories, and not for the sake of aggrandizement. And there is proof of this; our territory was the smallest in proportion to the number of our citizens,[5] and our empire the greatest, and we possessed triremes not only twice as numerous as all the rest together, 108. but fit to encounter twice

[1] *i.e.*, oligarchies.

[2] The term "settlers" or "resident aliens" is here used to express the condition of the governed class under an oligarchy.

[3] *i.e.*, *our allies*, during the seventy years (in round numbers) of the Athenian supremacy (B.C. 477-405). It should be observed that the reading (*διετέλεσαν*) in the text from which the translation is made is a conjecture; the MS. reading is *διετελέσαμεν*, "we, *i.e.*, *we Athenians*," for the various objections against which see Benseler and Sandys.

[4] See note on Or. viii. § 6.

[5] The total population of Attica was reckoned at 500,000, its area at about 700 square miles.

their number;[1] further, although close within reach of Attica there lay Euboea, which was by nature well adapted for the mastery of the sea, and in other respects possessed superior merits to all the other islands;[2] although we could command it more easily than our own country, and, in addition to that, knew that both among Hellenes and among barbarians the highest reputation was possessed by those who, by driving their neighbours from their homes, secured for themselves a life of plenty and ease, nevertheless none of these considerations induced us to commit any wrong against the inhabitants of the island, 109. but we alone, I say, among those who attained to great power, suffered ourselves to live in less abundance than those who were taunted with being our slaves.[3] Moreover, if we had wished for aggrandizement, we should not surely have coveted the territory of Scione,[4] which it is known we handed over to the Plataeans[5] who took refuge with us, and yet have passed over a country sufficient to have enriched us all.

110. Such then having been our character, and such the assurance that we have given of not coveting the property of others, those men dare to accuse us who took part in the decarchies,[6] dragged their own countries

[1] *i.e.*, the defensive power of Athens was *four* times greater than that of any other state.

[2] It possessed excellent landing-places, and was famous for its iron and copper mines, its pasture and corn lands, and marble quarries near Carystus.

[3] Another rendering is, "than these (*i.e.*, the Euboeans), who gave occasion to us to enslave them," *i.e.*, by their exposed position and the superior natural advantages they enjoyed they were a tempting prey.

[4] See note on § 100.

[5] In B.C. 427, when Plataea was destroyed by the Peloponnesians or having supported Athens. Before its capture, two hundred and twelve of the inhabitants had managed to make good their escape to Athens, who afterwards settled them in Scione.

[6] *i.e.*, the supporters of Sparta and oligarchy in Athens and

through the mire, and made the wrongs done in former times seem small, while they left to future followers of wickedness no chance of surpassing them; while professing Laconian sympathies, they practised the reverse of their professions, and while lamenting the sad fate of the Melians, they did not hesitate to do irremediable injuries to their own countrymen. 111. For what form of oppression escaped them? or what deed of shame or cruelty did they not perpetrate? They deemed the most lawless to be most faithful, they courted traitors as benefactors, and chose to be slaves to one of the Helots,[1] so as to outrage their own country; they honoured the assassins and murderers of their fellow-citizens more than their own parents, 112. and brought us all to such a pitch of savagery, that whereas in former times, on account of the prevailing happiness, each of us found many to sympathize with us even in small misfortunes, under their rule, owing to the multitude of our own peculiar ills, we left off pitying each other; for they left no one sufficient leisure to share another's sorrow. 113. Whom did these tyrants not reach? Or who was so remote from public life that he was not compelled to come into close contact with the calamities into which such creatures plunged us? Then, they are not ashamed of

elsewhere. After the fall of Athens Lysander established an oligarchical council of Ten, called a *Decarchy*, under the control of a Spartan *harmost* or governor, in the various cities which had belonged to the Athenian Empire. The decarchies did not long remain in power, since they were regarded with jealousy by the Spartan government as partisans of Lysander.

[1] The reference is to Lysander, the Spartan commander, who was one of the *μόθακες*, or children of the Helots. These Helots were serfs bound to the soil, which they tilled for the Spartan proprietors; they were never sold, and fought as light-armed troops. What rendered their lot especially bitter was the fact that they were not strangers like the ordinary slaves in other parts of Greece, but were of the same race as their masters, being descendants of the old inhabitants. In later times they were treated with great cruelty.

their lawless treatment of their own states or of their unjust accusations against ours, but in addition to their other offences they even venture to speak of the lawsuits and indictments[1] which at times have occurred amongst us, when they themselves put to death more men untried in three months[2] than our state brought to trial during the whole time of its supremacy. 114. The banishments and seditions, the confounding of laws and political revolutions, nay more, the outrages upon children, the insults to women, the confiscations—who could recount them? Only I can say this much on the whole matter, that the acts of wrong committed in our time might easily have been abolished by a single decree of the assembly, but the massacres and the lawlessness which took place under them cannot be repaired by anyone. 115. Indeed, even the present peace,[3] and the independence which is inscribed in treaties, but is not to be found in the states, are not preferable to our empire. For who would desire a condition of things in which pirates hold the sea[4] and targeteers[5] occupy the cities,

[1] δίκη (a lawsuit) was a "private" action, referring to some personal injury; γραφή (an indictment), a "public" action, referring to some injury to the property or violation of the rights of the state.

[2] With special reference to the worst period of the eight months' rule of the Thirty Tyrants, during which 1,500 citizens were put to death.

[3] The peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 387), the terms of which were as follows: King Artaxerxes thinks it right that the Greek cities in Asia, and the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus, should belong to himself; but that all the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and that these should, as of old, belong to the Athenians.

[4] After the naval power of Athens was broken, there was no one to keep the sea clear of pirates.

[5] The "peltasts" strictly occupied a position between hoplites (or heavy-armed troops) and the light-armed. They were distinguished by the light, round buckler (πέλτη). They were chiefly foreign mercenaries.

116. and, instead of making war against strangers in defence of their country, the citizens fight with each other inside the walls; more cities have been taken in war than before we concluded the peace, and on account of the frequency of revolutions the inhabitants of the cities live in greater despondency than those who have been punished with exile; for the former dread the future, while the latter are continually expecting to return home.

117. So far removed are the states from liberty and independence, that some are under despots,[1] some are governed by harmosts, some have been dismantled, and of others the barbarians have become masters;[2] those barbarians whom, when they dared to cross into Europe and conceived prouder thoughts than became them, we treated in such fashion, 118. that they not only ceased making expeditions against us, but even had to endure the devastation of their own country,[3] and though they sailed round with a thousand and two hundred ships we reduced them to such a depth of humiliation that they did not launch a vessel of war on this side of Phaselis,[4] but kept quiet and awaited their opportunity, and had no confidence in their strength at the time. 119. And that this was owing to the prowess of our ancestors, the calamities of the state have clearly shown; for from the time that we were deprived of our empire, the troubles of Hellas began. For after the defeat in the Hellespont,[5] when others acquired the leadership, the bar-

[1] Such as Dionysius of Syracuse and Jason of Pherae in Thessaly.

[2] In consequence of the peace of Antalcidas.

[3] Referring to the victory of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, over the Persians at the Eurymedon (B.C. 469).

[4] After the Persian Wars, the boundaries beyond which the Persian ships of war were not allowed to pass were, on the north the Cyanean Islands on the Thracian Bosphorus, on the south the Chelidonian Islands near Phaselis on the frontiers of Lycia and Pamphylia.

[5] The defeat at Aegospotami (B.C. 405).

barians were victorious in naval battles,[1] and ruled the sea, occupied most of the islands, landed on Laconian territory,[2] took Cythera by storm, and sailed round the whole of Peloponnesus inflicting damage. 120. The magnitude of the change can be best seen at a glance by reading over side by side the treaties entered into under our empire[3] and those which now stand recorded. In those days we shall be found marking the limits of the King's rule, assessing some of their tributes, and forbidding him to make use of the sea; whereas now it is he who manages the affairs of Hellas, dictates what each must do, and all but sets up governors[4] in the cities. 121. For with this exception what else is left undone? Was he not master of the war, did he not direct peace negotiations, and has he not been established our chief-president at the present time?[5] Are we not drifting

[1] Referring to the victory of Conon over the Spartan fleet at Cnidus in Caria (B.C. 394). Conon, after his defeat at Aegospotami, had fled to Cyprus, where he lived under the protection of Evagoras (see Or. ix.); nine years later he was intrusted with the command of the Persian fleet by Pharnabazus.

[2] In the year 393 Conon and Pharnabazus devastated Pherae in Messenia, and other parts of the coast of Laconia. They also conquered the island of Cythera (Cerigo), to the south of Peloponnesus, and sailed from thence to the Isthmus of Corinth.

[3] "By the treaty of Callias (or Cimon, as it is sometimes called), according to which the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor were made independent, the Persian King was precluded from approaching the coast within the distance of a day's journey on horseback, and from sending any ship of war between the Cyanean islands at the mouth of the Bosphorus and the Chelidonian islands off the Lycian coast. Whether this peace was made after the battle of the Eurymedon or after Cimon's expedition to Cyprus has been a matter of controversy, and some historians have doubted whether such a peace was ever made."—C. R. K.

[4] The word ἐπίσταθμοι literally signified those who were intrusted with the care of the strongholds, and commanded the garrisons posted in them.

[5] The Athenian βουλή (or council of five hundred) was divided into ten bodies of fifty men, who were called *Prytaneis*, and all

into his hands as into those of a master, ready to blame each other for the result? Do we not address him as "The Great King," as if we were prisoners of war? Do we not in our wars against each other place in him our hopes of a safe issue, when he would gladly destroy us both?[1]

122. Bearing all this in mind, it is but right to be indignant at the existing condition of things, and to mourn the loss of our leadership, and to censure the Lacedaemonians in that, although in the beginning they undertook the war[2] as if with the purpose of liberating the Hellenes, at the close they have visited so many of them with betrayal, and have caused the Ionians to revolt[3] from our state, from which they emigrated and by whose influence they were often saved from danger, and have given them over to the barbarians, against whose will they possess their territory, and with whom they have never ceased fighting. 123. In former days the Lacedaemonians were indignant when we desired to rule over some people in a lawful manner; now, on the contrary, they take no heed of these states, when reduced to such slavery, that it is not enough for them to be subject to tribute and to see their citadels occupied by their enemies, but in addition to the public calamities they suffer in their own persons harsher treatment than our

belonged to the same tribe. They acted as presidents both of the council and *ἐκκλησία*, or popular assembly, during thirty-five or thirty-six days, as the case might be, in order to complete the Athenian lunar year of three hundred and fifty-four days; each tribe exercised their functions in turn, and the period of office was called a Prytany. One of the fifty Prytaneis was chosen by lot to act as *ἐπιστάτης* or chairman for one day, during which he kept the public records and seal. The terms are here applied generally to express the great influence and power of the Persian king.

[1] Sparta as well as Athens.

[2] *i.e.*, the Peloponnesian war. This was the plea put forward by the Spartan Brasidas (Thucydides, iv. 85).

[3] Others render, "severed, detached," with reference to the peace of Antalcidas, by which the independence of the Greek cities in Asia Minor was declared: see note on § 115.

bought slaves;[1] for no one of us illtreats his servants in such fashion as they chastise free men. 124. But the greatest of their miseries is the being compelled to carry arms in the very cause of slavery, and to fight against those who claim to be free, when the perils they undergo are of such a nature that if defeated they will be immediately destroyed, and if successful will be more deeply enslaved for all future time. 125. Whom should we consider responsible for these things but the Lacedaemonians, who, great as is their strength, suffer their own allies to be brought to such a depth of misery, and the barbarian to establish his own sway by the aid of the might of the Hellenes? Again, though in former times they used to expel tyrants,[2] and give support to the people, they have now changed so completely that they go to war with constitutional governments and help to establish monarchies. 126. Mantinea, for instance, after peace was concluded, they laid in ruins, they seized the Cadmea of Thebes, and are now besieging the Olynthians[3] and the Phliasians, and they are assisting Amyntas,[4] the king of the Macedonians, and Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, and the barbarian[5] who is

[1] "Bought slaves," in opposition to "house slaves" (*vernae*), who were born and brought up in the house, and were often on confidential terms with their masters.

[2] Such as the Pisistratidae from Athens and the Cypselidae from Corinth.

[3] The Lacedaemonians in B.C. 382 declared war against Olynthus; the Thebans entered into an alliance with the latter, and forbade any of their citizens to join the Lacedaemonian army in its operations. The town was not reduced till three years later. For Mantinea and Phlius, see note on Or. viii. § 100.

[4] Amyntas II., father of Philip of Macedon. In B.C. 383 Olynthus had united the Greek towns of Chalcidice in an alliance against him, whereupon he sent envoys to Sparta to ask for assistance.

Dionysius the Elder of Syracuse, who was assisted by the Spartan Aristus to consolidate his power at home (B.C. 404).

[5] Artaxerxes Mnemon.

master of Asia, to extend their power as widely as possible. 127. Yet is it not strange that the leaders of Hellas should establish one man as master of human beings so numerous that it is not even easy to ascertain their number, and yet should not allow the greatest states to have control even of themselves, but should compel them to suffer slavery or to incur the greatest calamities? 128. But the most monstrous thing of all is to see those who claim to have the leadership fighting every day against the Hellenes, and united in alliance for all time with the barbarians.

129. Now let no one suppose that I am ill-tempered because I have called attention to these matters in rather severe language, after having said at starting that my speech would be directed to reconciliation; for it is not in order to denounce the Lacedaemonians to others that I have thus spoken of them, but that I may cause them, as far as my words can effect this, to give up their present manner of thinking. 130. But it is not possible to turn them from their faults or to persuade them to desire a different course of action, without vigorously censuring their present conduct; and we ought to consider that it is those who abuse maliciously that accuse, while those who say the same that good may come merely admonish. For the same language should be differently understood according to the purpose with which it is spoken. 131. Now we have this too to censure them for, that though in the case of their own state they compel the neighbouring inhabitants [1] to be Helots to it, yet for the general body of their allies they establish no such institution, though it is within their power, by making up their quarrel with us, to make all the barbarians dependents [2] of united Hellas. 132. Yet those who have high

[1] The Messenians.

[2] The word *περίοικοι*, here translated "dependents," literally means "dwellers around the city," and was used to indicate the inhabitants of the country districts of Laconia, who possessed inferior political privileges to the Spartans in the city. They had

thoughts by nature and not by reason of good fortune ought to attempt deeds of that kind, far rather than to impose tribute upon the islanders,[1] whom it is right for us to pity, when we see them for their part being compelled on account of scarcity of land to cultivate mountains, while the dwellers on the mainland[2] owing to abundance of territory leave most of it idle and have acquired their great wealth from the portion of which they reap the fruits. 133. Now I think that if men were to come from some other region and be spectators of the present state of things, they would find both of us guilty of great madness, for thus incurring risk about trifles, when it is within our power to enjoy great possessions in security, and for ruining our own territory while neglecting to reap the fruits of Asia. 134. To the King of course nothing is more important than the consideration of means to prevent us ever ceasing from making war against each other; but we are so far from embroiling any of his affairs or causing revolts, that even the troubles which by chance have come upon him we endeavour to help him to suppress, since even of the two armies in Cyprus[3] we allow him to employ the one and to besiege the other, both of them composed of Hellenes. 135. For not only do those who have revolted both stand on friendly terms with us and surrender themselves to the Lacedaemonians, but of those serving with

no share in the government. They were distributed over one hundred townships, and appear to have been descendants of the older inhabitants of the country. Their position was between that of the Spartans, properly so called, and the Helots.

[1] The inhabitants of the Cyclades (in the Aegean), and Leucas, Cythera, and Zacynthus, the soil of which was bare and rocky.

[2] The subjects of the Persian king in Asia.

[3] Evagoras, prince of Cyprus, revolted against Artaxerxes, who sent Tiribazus against him; Evagoras applied to Athens for assistance, which was granted: a similar request to Sparta was refused. See note on Or. ix. § 64.

See Or. ix. (*Evagoras*) generally, esp. §§ 18, 49, 57.

Tiribazus and of the land forces the most serviceable portion has been levied from these parts,[1] and of the fleet the greater part has sailed together from Ionia; these would much sooner have been uniting to sack Asia than encountering each other for the sake of trifles. 136. On these things we bestow no thought, but we dispute about the Cyclades islands, while we have so lightly handed over to the barbarian cities so many in number and forces so considerable. For this reason it is that he is in possession in one quarter, threatens to become so in another, and is forming hostile schemes in a third, having conceived a just contempt for us all. 137. For he has achieved what none of his ancestors have yet done; Asia, it has been admitted both on our part and on that of the Lacedaemonians, belongs to the King, and the Hellenic states he has brought so completely into his power, as to raze some of them to the ground and build fortresses in others. And all these things are due to our folly, not to his power.

138. Yet some admire the greatness of the King's power, and say that he is hard to war with, enumerating the many revolutions which he has brought upon the Hellenes. But I think those who speak thus are promoting instead of discouraging the campaign; for if, when we are agreed and he is beset with disorder, he is likely to be difficult to make war against, surely we should dread exceedingly the hour when the affairs of the barbarians are settled and they are of one mind, while we are at war with each other as we are now. 139. Yet supposing that they agree with what I say, even then they do not form a right opinion of his power. For if they had shown him to have in former times got the better of both states at once, they might reasonably have tried to frighten us now also; but if this has not been so, but, on the contrary, it was when we and the Lacedaemonians were at variance, that by supporting one side or the other he made that side more brilliantly successful, that

[1] From Greece and the Greek settlements of Ionia.

is no indication of his strength. For in such crises small forces often exercise great influence in turning the scale; for of the Chians[1] too I might make this remark, that whichever party they determined to support was stronger by sea. 140. However, it is not fair to judge of the King's power from what came about with the help of one or other of us, but from the wars he has fought by himself on his own account. And in the first place, when Egypt revolted, what did he achieve against those who held it?[2] Did not he on his part send down to that war the most distinguished of the Persians, Abrocomas and Tithraustes and Pharnabazus,[3] and did not they, after staying three years and suffering more evils than they inflicted, in the end depart with such dishonour, that those who had revolted are no longer content with freedom, but are beginning to seek to extend their rule over their neighbours? 141. After that followed his operations against Evagoras, who rules but one city,[4] and in the treaties[5] is given up to the enemy, and, living as he does in an island, has been in former times defeated by sea,[6] and to defend his territory has only three thousand targeteers; nevertheless, even so humble a power the King cannot overcome in war, but he has already spent six years, and if we must judge of the future by the past, there is much more reason to expect the revolt of another, before he is forced to surrender; such is the natural slowness displayed by the King in his undertakings.

142. Again, in the Rhodian war,[7] with the allies of the

[1] The revolt of the wealthy and populous island of Chios from Athens during the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 412), gave Sparta the superiority at sea, just as, later, after Conon's victory at Cnidus, its revolt from Sparta deprived her of that superiority.

[2] Nothing further is known of this campaign against Egypt.

[3] The Satraps of Syria, Ionia, and the district of the Hellespont.

[4] Salamis in Cyprus, see *Evagoras*, § 62.

[5] The peace of Antalcidas, see § 115.

[6] In the naval engagement at Citium (B.C. 386).

[7] The oppressions of the harmosts and decarchies caused an

Lacedaemonians friendly to him on account of the harshness of their governments, with the advantage of the services we rendered, and with Conon as his general, who was the most careful of generals, the most faithful to Hellas, and the most experienced in the dangers of war,—even with such a man to fight beside him, he for three years suffered the fleet, which had the main task of defending Asia, to be blockaded by one hundred triremes only, and deprived his soldiers of fifteen months' pay, so that, as far as it depended on him, they would have been destroyed many times over, but by reason of the impending [danger] [1] and of the alliance contracted with Corinth, they now and again with difficulty won naval victories. 143. Now these are the most kingly and glorious of his achievements, whereof those who wish to magnify the power of the barbarians never cease to speak. So that no one can say that I do not use my examples fairly, nor that I linger over small matters, passing by his greatest actions; 144. for, in the wish to avoid this imputation, I have gone through the most famous of his deeds, not failing either to remember the following facts,—that Dercylidas [2] with a

uprising against Sparta, and a league was formed between Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, which was afterwards joined by Athens. Conon had meanwhile been intrusted by the King of Persia with unlimited power to equip a fleet against Sparta, and, assisted materially by Evagoras, gained the important victory of Cnidus (B.C. 394), which restored the influence of Athens and enabled her to rebuild the long walls. The war was sometimes called the "War with Rhodes," because the principal naval operations took place in the neighbourhood of that island.

[1] Blass brackets *κίνδυνον*, in which case *διὰ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα* must be rendered "thanks to their commander," *i.e.*, Conon.

[2] Tissaphernes had attacked the Ionian cities, at the time under the protection of Sparta. A considerable Lacedaemonian force under Thi(m)bron was sent to their assistance. Thi(m)bron, however, proved so inefficient that he was superseded by Dercylidas (B.C. 399).

thousand hoplites extended his rule over Aeolis,[1] that Draco, having occupied Atarneus[2] and collected three thousand peltasts, desolated the plain of Mysia, that Thibron, taking across a slightly larger force, laid waste the whole of Lydia,[3] and that Agesilaus by the help of Cyrus's army[4] almost became master of the territory on this side the Halys. 145. Nay more, one need not fear even the army which follows the King, nor the courage of the Persians; for they too were manifestly proved by those who went up with Cyrus[5] to be no better than the dwellers by the sea.[6] I pass over all the other battles in which they were defeated, and I assume that they were divided by factions and were not heartily willing to fight to the death against the king's brother. 146. But, when after the death of Cyrus,[7] all the inhabitants of Asia united, even under those favourable circumstances they fought so disgracefully, as to leave not a word for those to say who have been accustomed to praise Persian courage. For when they fell in with six thousand Hellenes, not chosen according to merit, but such as owing to their needy circumstances were not able to live in their own states, who were ignorant of the country, destitute of allies, betrayed by those who had

[1] Aeolis formed part of the satrapy of Pharnabazus; it included the upper valleys of Mt. Ida, and was so called from the Aeolian towns which peopled it.

[2] Atarneus in Mysia, opposite Lesbos, a strong fortress held by a body of exiles from Chios, was taken, after an eight months' siege, by Dercylidas, who put a garrison into the place under the command of Draco, an Achaean of Pallene.

[3] Some years later (about B.C. 390) Thi(m)bron was again sent out to Asia, where he ravaged the king's territory; but, owing to his carelessness, was slain by the satrap Struthas.

[4] The remainder of the Greeks who had taken part in the expedition of Cyrus.

[5] The 10,000 Greeks: see Xenophon's "Anabasis" and Thirlwall, iv. 283-324.

[6] The troops from the Persian satrapies in Asia Minor.

[7] He was slain at the battle of Cunaxa (B.C. 401)

gone up with them,[1] and bereft of the leader in whose footsteps they had followed, 147. they were so far from being a match for them, that the King, embarrassed by the condition of affairs and having a small opinion of the force around him, went so far as to seize the commanders of the auxiliaries when under the protection of a truce,[2] thinking that, if he effected this outrage, he would throw their army into confusion, and preferred to offend against the gods rather than to meet them in open contest. 148. And when he failed in his plot, and the soldiers stood by each other and bore their calamity nobly, he sent with them on their return Tissaphernes and his cavalry, in spite of whose hostile designs throughout the whole of their journey, our countrymen reached their destination as safely as if they had been escorted by them, having most fear of the uninhabited part of the country and considering it the greatest advantage to meet as many of the enemy as possible. 149. Let me sum up what I have said: although they had not set out for plunder nor taken so much as a village, but had taken the field against the King himself, yet they came down in greater security than those who go on embassies to him to court his friendship. So that the Persians seem to me in every part of the world to have clearly manifested their cowardice; not only on the coast-line of Asia have they suffered many defeats, but when they crossed into Europe they paid the penalty (for some of them perished miserably, and others escaped with dishonour), and they have finished by becoming objects of ridicule in sight of the King's palace itself.[3]

150. Now not one of these things has happened unaccountably, but they have all come to pass naturally; for

[1] The Persian troops under Ariaeus (Xenophon, "Anabasis," iii. 1, 2). The "leader" is Cyrus.

[2] See Xenophon, "Anabasis," ii. 5.

[3] Cunaxa was 500 stades (about sixty miles) from Babylon, according to Plutarch; according to Xenophon, 360 stades.

it is not possible that men whose rearing and political constitution is of such a nature should set up a trophy over their enemies in battle any more than they can partake of virtue generally. For how, with their habits of life, could either a skilful general or a good soldier arise amongst them, seeing that the greater part of them are a disorderly mob without experience of danger, enervated for war, but for servitude better trained than our household slaves? 151. Those, again, who are in greatest repute among them have never yet lived a life of equality, common intercourse, or citizenship, but spend all their time either as oppressors or as slaves—the surest way for men to have their characters corrupted; their bodies they pamper through their riches, and their souls they render abased and fearful through their monarchical government; they are subjected to inspection on the very threshold of the royal palace, fall prostrate before the King, and in every way practise humiliation, worshipping a mortal man and addressing him as a deity, and holding the gods of less account than men.

152. For this reason it is that those of them who come down to the sea, whom they call satraps, do not disgrace their home education, but continue in the same habits, faithless towards their friends and cowardly towards their enemies, and living lives of humiliation on the one side and arrogance on the other, they despise their allies while they court their enemies. 153. The armament of Agesilaus, for instance, they fed for eight months at their own expense,[1] and yet deprived of their pay for twice that length of time those who were fighting their battle; they distributed one hundred talents to those who captured Cisthene,[2] and

[1] After the execution of Tissaphernes, his successor Tithraustes reopened negotiations with Agesilaus: an armistice of six months was concluded, and Agesilaus, by a subsidy of thirty talents, was induced to remove into the territory of Pharnabazus.

[2] In Aeolis, on the sea-coast of Mysia. Nothing further is known about this incident nor that next mentioned.

yet those who joined them in their expedition against Cyprus they treated with worse indignities than their prisoners. 154. To speak briefly and not in detail but generally, did anyone who fought against them ever come off without success, or did anyone who was subject to them ever end his life without suffering maltreatment? There was Conon who held command in the cause of Asia and overthrew the Lacedaemonian empire—had they not the hardihood to seize him for execution,[1] whereas they deemed Themistocles, who defeated them at sea in the cause of Hellas, worthy of the richest presents?[2] 155. How then can we esteem the friendship of these men, who punish their benefactors, and so openly flatter those who do them injury? To which of us have they not done wrong? For how long have they ceased from plotting against the Hellenes? What is there in our land that is not hateful to them, who did not scruple in the earlier war to plunder and set on fire the very images and temples of the gods?

[1] After the success of Conon at Cnidus and the rebuilding of the Long Walls of Athens, "the Spartan government viewed with alarm his further operations, when he was proceeding to restore the Athenian dominion on the coasts and in the islands of the Aegean. It perceived that it was necessary to change its policy with regard to Persia, and for the present at least to drop the design of conquest in Asia, and to confine itself to the object of counteracting the efforts of the Athenians and making the Persian court subservient to these ends. For this purpose Antalcidas was sent to negotiate a peace with Tiribazus, to whom he made highly agreeable proposals. The latter did not venture openly to enter into alliance without his master's consent, but made no scruple about privately supplying Antalcidas with funds for a navy: and, having drawn Conon to Sardis, threw him into prison, on the pretext that he had abused his trust, and had employed the king's forces for the aggrandizement of Athens" (Thirlwall, iv. 433, 434). Conon afterwards escaped to Cyprus, where he died of illness.

[2] In B.C. 471. Themistocles was ostracized for corrupt practices, and fled to the court of Persia, where he was treated with the greatest consideration by Artaxerxes, who loaded him with presents, and gave him Magnesia as a place of residence.

156. For this reason the Ionians too deserve commendation for invoking curses by their burnt sanctuaries on any who should disturb them [1] or wish to restore them again to their ancient condition, not from any lack of the means to rebuild them, but that they might be to posterity for a memorial of the impiety of the barbarians, and that no one should trust those who ventured to commit such wrongs against heaven, but that men should, on the contrary, beware of them and fear them, seeing that they made war not only against our persons but also against that which is consecrated to the gods.

157. Now I have a similar tale to tell of our fellow-countrymen too. For they also, although, as regards all others, with whom they have been at war, they are no sooner reconciled to them than they forget their past enmity, yet to the continental peoples they feel no gratitude even when they receive favours from them; in such unceasing remembrance do they keep their anger against them. Our fathers, again, condemned many to death for the crime of Medism,[2] and in their public assemblies even at the present day, before transacting any other business, they invoke curses on any citizen who proposes to send an embassy to negotiate peace with the Persians; and the Eumolpidae and the Ceryces,[3] in the celebration of the mysteries, on account of their hatred of the Persians warn all other barbarians, as if they were murderers, to keep away from the sacred rites.

[1] Or, "for invoking curses on any who should meddle with the burnt temples in any way."

[2] In May or June, B.C. 479, about ten months after the retreat of Xerxes, the Persians again occupied Athens, the inhabitants of which had withdrawn to Salamis, seeing that no aid was to be expected from the Peloponnesians. Mardonius again endeavoured to win them to his alliance. His conditions were again refused. The senator Lycidas alone recommended their acceptance, in consequence of which he and his family were stoned to death by the populace.

[3] The two priestly families of the Eumolpidae and Ceryces superintended the Eleusinian mysteries.

158. Our feelings are naturally so hostile to them, that the very stories that we are most pleased to linger over are those of the Trojan and Persian wars, by which we can learn of their misfortunes. And you will find that, while the war against barbarians has afforded us hymns of praise, war against the Hellenes has been a source of lamentations, and that the former are sung at our feasts, while the latter we remember in our misfortunes. 159. I think indeed that even the poetry of Homer has acquired a greater reputation for the noble way in which he praised those who fought against the barbarians, and that it was on this account that our ancestors gave to his genius a place of honour both in musical contests and in the education of the young,[1] that by often hearing his epics we may fully understand the enmity which exists between us and them, and that, in emulation of the virtue of those who fought against Troy, we may strive after deeds such as theirs.

160. It seems to me, therefore, that the motives for going to war with them are exceedingly many, and chief of all the present opportunity, which must not be thrown away; for indeed it is a disgrace to remember an opportunity when it is past instead of using it while it is present. For what further advantage could we even wish to accrue to us in prospect of a war with the King, beyond those which we now possess? 161. Have not Egypt and Cyprus revolted from him, Phoenicia and Syria been reduced to desolation by reason of the war, and Tyre, on which he greatly prided himself, been seized by his enemies?[2] And of the cities in Cilicia, the majority are held by our supporters,[3] and the rest it is not difficult to win; and Lycia[4] no Persian has

[1] The recital of Homer's poems formed part of the ἀγὼν μουσικὸς at the Panathenaic festival, and they were a subject for repetition at schools.

[2] On the occasion of the Cyprian war, for which see §§ 141, 142, and Or. ix. § 62.

[3] Evagoras and the Cyprians.

[4] Although forced by Harpagus to submit and to pay tribute in

ever yet completely subdued. 162. Hecatomnus, the satrap of Caria, has in reality been now for a long time disaffected, and will declare himself whenever we wish it. From Cnidus to Sinope Hellenes live along the coast of Asia, whom there is no need to persuade to go to war, but merely to refrain from hindering them. Now with such bases of operations to our hand, and with Asia beset by so formidable a war, why need we scan too minutely the future issue? For when they are unequal to small portions of our power[1] it is clear how they would be situated if they were compelled to make war against the whole. 163. The matter stands thus: if the barbarian should hold more strongly the cities on the sea-coast, placing in them larger garrisons than at present, possibly the islands also which are near the mainland, such as Rhodes, Samos, and Chios, would turn aside to follow his fortunes; but if we were to seize these cities first, it is probable that the inhabitants of Lydia and Phrygia and the upper country generally would be in the power of a force operating from those points.[2] 164. Therefore we must hasten and make no delay, that we may not suffer the same fate as our fathers. For they, by being later in the field than the barbarians and abandoning some of their allies[3] were compelled to fight with inferior numbers against a large force, whereas it was open to them by crossing in time on to the mainland to have overcome each nation one after the other with the whole power of Hellas. 165. For experience teaches us that, when making war

the shape of ships to Persia, the mountainous nature of the country insured to Lycia a certain independence.

[1] Or the reference may be to Egypt, Cyprus, and other countries which the Persians were unable to recover.

[2] *i.e.*, from the Ionian cities on the coast.

[3] The Ionians, who, after the burning of Sardis, were defeated near Ephesus, and in vain sought further assistance from Athens. The result was the subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by Persia, the fate of the war being decided by the naval engagement at Lade, a small island off Miletus (B.C. 495).

against men who are being collected from many places, we ought not to wait until they are upon us, but to attack them while still dispersed. Our fathers, it is true, though committing all these errors at the first, retrieved them after passing through the severest struggles in our history; but we, if we are wise, will be on our guard from the beginning, and try to be the first to establish a force in the country of Lydia and Ionia, 166. knowing that the King too rules the continental peoples, not by a willing allegiance, but by having at command a greater force than they severally possess; now when we take across a stronger force than his, which we could easily do if we so determined, we shall enjoy the fruits of all Asia in security. And it is a much nobler thing to fight with him for his kingdom than to wrangle among ourselves for the leadership of Hellas.

167. Now it is right to undertake the campaign in the present generation, that those who have had their share of troubles may also enjoy success and not spend all their life in evil days. Sufficient is the past, in which every form of calamity has taken place. Many as are the evils attached to the natural condition of men, we ourselves have invented more evils in addition to those which necessity imposes, creating wars and factions in our midst, 168. so that some are lawlessly put to death in their own states, while others wander with wives and children in a foreign land, and many, forced into mercenary service by the want of daily necessities, die fighting for foes against friends. At this no one has ever yet shown indignation, yet they see fit to weep over the tales of calamity composed by poets, while, beholding with indifference the real woes, many and terrible, which are caused by war, they are so far from feeling pity that they even rejoice more at one another's troubles than at their own good fortune. 169. Many perhaps would even ridicule my simplicity, were I to mourn over the misfortunes of individuals in times like these, in which

Italy has become a wasted land, Sicily has been enslaved,[1] and so many states have been given up to the barbarians,[2] while the remaining portions of Hellas are in the midst of the greatest dangers.

170. I wonder that those who are in power in our states consider that it befits them to hold their heads high, when they have never yet been able by word or thought to help in matters of such importance. For, were they worthy of their present reputation, they ought, neglecting everything else, to have made proposals and taken counsel concerning the war against the barbarians. 171. For by chance they might together have accomplished something; and even had they abandoned the attempt from weariness, yet they would at least have left their words behind them as oracles for the future. But as it is, those who are in the highest positions of honour concern themselves with small matters, and have left it to us who stand aloof from public life to give advice on such weighty affairs.

172. Nevertheless the more narrow-minded our leaders prove to be, the more vigorously must the rest of us consider how to be rid of our present enmity. As things are, it is to no purpose that we make our treaties of peace; for we do not settle our wars, but only defer them, and wait for the time when we shall be able to inflict some irremediable injury on one another. 173. Our duty, on the contrary, is to put aside these plottings and apply ourselves to those undertakings which will enable us both to dwell in greater security in our cities and to feel greater confidence in one another. Now the word to be said on this subject is a simple and easy one; we cannot enjoy a sure peace unless we make war in common against the barbarians, nor can Hellas be

[1] Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse, in B.C. 389, had captured Caulon and Hipponium and transferred the inhabitants to Syracuse, and two years later destroyed Rhegium: he had also surrendered several Sicilian towns to the Carthaginians.

[2] By the peace of Antalcidas.

made of one mind until we secure our advantages from the same enemies and meet our perils in the face of the same foes.[1] 174. When these things are achieved, when we have removed the poverty surrounding our life, which breaks up friendships, perverts to enmity the ties of kindred, and throws all mankind into wars and seditions, it must follow that we shall be of one mind and our mutual goodwill will be real. For these reasons we must consider it all-important as speedily as possible to banish our domestic war to the continent, since the one advantage we can derive from our internal struggles would be the resolve to use against the barbarian the lessons of experience we have gained from them.

175. But, it will be said, may it not be best on account of the treaty[2] to wait a little and not to press on and make the expedition too quickly? It is the states which have been liberated through this treaty that feel gratitude to the King, on the ground that they have obtained this independence through him, while those which have been given up to the barbarians reproach mainly the Lacedaemonians, and in a lesser degree all the others who were parties to the peace, on the ground that by them they have been forced into slavery. Must it not therefore be right to dissolve this agreement, from which such a feeling has arisen that it is the barbarian who cares for Hellas and is the guardian of her peace, and that among us are to be found those who outrage and ill-use her? 176. But the most ridiculous thing of all is, that of the terms written in the agreements it is the worst that we find ourselves guarding. For those which restore to independence the islands and the states in

[1] *i.e.*, the Persians. The sense is: We ought to give up the attempt to enrich ourselves at the expense of our Greek neighbours, and ought rather to endeavour to spoil the Persians: similarly, we ought to abandon our perpetual wars against one another, and to wage war against the Persians alone.

[2] The peace of Antalcidas: see § 115.

Europe have long been broken and remain idly on the records ;[1] but those which bring us shame and have given up many of our allies, remain in force and all hold them binding. These we must destroy and not leave them for a single day, considering them to be dictates, not agreements. For who does not know that those are agreements which stand equally and fairly to both sides, but that those are dictates which unjustly put one side at a disadvantage? 177. For this reason, too, we could justly complain of those who negotiated this peace, that, although sent by Hellas, they made the treaty in the interest of the barbarians. For whether it was determined that we should each keep our own country, or should also extend our rule over the territory conquered in war, or should retain what we were already in possession of at the time of the peace, their duty was to define some one of these courses, lay down a common principle of justice, and on that basis conclude the treaty. 178. But in fact they allotted no distinction to our state or to Lacedaemon, but established the barbarian as lord of all Asia, as if we had gone to war on his behalf, or as if the Persian empire were of old standing and we but recent inhabitants of our cities, and it were not rather the fact that they have but lately held this high position, while we have for all time been the ruling powers in Hellas. 179. I think, however, that I shall better show the want of respect that has befallen us and the preference which has been shown to the King by putting the matter in this way. Whereas the whole earth lying beneath the firmament is divided into two portions,[2] the one called Asia and the other Europe, he has taken by the treaty one half, as if he were dividing the world with Zeus instead of making an agreement with men. 180. And this is the agreement which he has compelled us to inscribe on pillars of stone

[1] Lit. "pillars," on which important public documents such as treaties were transcribed.

[2] See § 35.

and to dedicate in our common temples,[1] a far fairer trophy than any to be won in battles; for the trophies of battle are on account of small events and isolated successes, but this agreement is established to commemorate the whole war and concerns the whole of Hellas.

181. For these things it is but right that we should feel indignation and consider how we shall take vengeance for the past and set the future on a right footing. For it is a disgrace that, while in private life we think it fitting to use the barbarians as domestic servants, we should in public affairs suffer so many of our allies to be in slavery to them, and that, whereas those who lived in the time of the Trojan war did for the rape of one woman all join so heartily in the indignation of those who had suffered the wrong, that they did not cease to carry on the war until they had laid in ruins the city of the man who had dared to commit the offence, 182. we on the contrary wreak no public vengeance for outrages which are being inflicted upon the whole of Hellas, though it is in our power to achieve things worthy of aspiration. For it is only a war of this kind which is better than peace, a war more like a sacred embassy[2] than a campaign, and to the interest of both parties, both those who prefer to live in quiet and those who desire to go to war; for it would enable the former to reap in security the fruits of their own possessions, and the latter to acquire great riches out of the possessions of others.

183. Now in many directions it will be found on consideration that this course of action is most to our profit. For consider: against whom should war be made by those who desire no selfish aggression, but look to justice alone? Surely against those who formerly did injury to Hellas,

[1] See § 176. The pillars were placed inside or near the public temples.

[2] The Θεωρίαι were festal missions to Delos, etc., and to the public games, which were conducted with great pomp and magnificence.

are now scheming against us, and always entertain hostile feelings towards us. 184. Against whom may envy be fairly cherished by men who are not altogether given over to an unmanly jealousy, but indulge this feeling with discretion?[1] Surely against those who have encompassed themselves with power too great for men to hold, and yet are deserving of less than those who are unfortunate in our country. Against whom should a campaign be conducted by those who wish to act as pious men and at the same time desire their own advantage? Surely against those who are both our natural and our ancestral enemies, who possess the highest prosperity with the smallest power of striking a blow in its defence. Now the Persians are open to all these reproaches. 185. Moreover, we shall not even trouble the states by levying soldiers from them, which is now a most severe burden to them in our civil war; for I think that far fewer will wish to stay behind than will desire to follow in our train. For who, be he young or old, has a heart so unmoved that he will not wish to take his part in this expedition, an expedition generalled by Athenians and Lacedaemonians, mustering on behalf of the freedom of the allies, going forth at the bidding of all Hellas, and marching to the chastisement of the barbarians? 186. What fame, and name, and glory must we deem that these men, who have been foremost in so great an enterprise, will enjoy while living, or dying, will leave behind them? For whereas they who fought against Alexander[2] and took one city were deemed worthy of such praises, what eulogies must we expect will be won by the conquerors of all Asia? For surely everyone who has the gift of poetry or the power of speech will toil

[1] The more generally accepted rendering is: "By men who are not altogether devoid of courage, but exhibit it in due proportion." Others explain *τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι* as = *ἀνανδρία*, while Benseler takes it as = *πλεονεξία* (the endeavour to aggrandize oneself at the expense of others).

[2] The later name of Paris.

and study in the wish to leave behind him for all time a memorial at once of his own genius and of their valour?

187. Now I do not find myself of the same opinion at the present moment as at the beginning of my speech. Then I thought I should be able to speak in a fashion worthy of my subject; now I cannot attain to its magnitude, and much that I thought of has escaped me. You must then for ourselves consider together what happiness we should gain by turning against the inhabitants of the continent the war which now besets us here, and by transferring to Europe the happiness of Asia. 188. You must not go away hearers and no more, but the men of action should with mutual exhortation endeavour to reconcile our state to that of the Lacedaemonians, while those who dispute the palm of oratory should cease to write concerning fiduciary deposit[1] and the other trifling subjects of their conversation, and should rather direct their rivalry against this discourse, and consider how to speak better than I have done on the same subject, 189. reflecting that it does not befit those who promise great things to occupy themselves with trifles,[2] nor to engage in arguments from which the lives of their audience will gain no advantage by conviction, but to employ discussions, by the realization of which they will not only themselves be relieved from their present embarrassment, but will also be regarded as the source of great blessings to others.

[1] One of the forensic speeches (see Introduction) of Isocrates (that *against Euthynus*) treats of a deposit intrusted to Euthynus. The suit led to a literary feud. Antisthenes the Cynic, a pupil of Gorgias and Speusippus, attacked the speech of Isocrates.

[2] See Or. x. §§ 1-13.

THE PHILIPPUS.

The Philippus is the complement of the Panegyricus. As the latter had contained an appeal for united action on the part of the Greeks against Persia, so this calls upon Philip of Macedon to put himself at the head of that movement, and take the command of the combined forces. The speech was commenced in April, B.C. 346, soon after the conclusion of the so-called Peace of Philocrates, and finished before the Phocian campaigns of Philip in July of the same year. Isocrates had previously been engaged upon a letter addressed to Philip (B.C. 347) on the subject of Amphipolis, with the object of bringing about the end of a war ruinous to both the contending parties, in which it was pointed out that the possession of Amphipolis was not of sufficient importance either to Athens or Philip to make it worth fighting about; the conclusion of peace rendered this letter unnecessary. We have the express testimony of Isocrates himself that "the Philippus" was actually sent to the king.

In the first part of the speech Isocrates tells Philip that it is not only his duty to bring about the reconciliation of the Hellenic states, but that it is in his power to do so; this, he says, will bring him great renown, and at the same time put a stop to the calumnies of his enemies.

In the second part he commences by pointing out the ease with which barbarian forces can be overcome, as shown in the case of Cyrus and Clearchus, and the present weakness of the Great King, and appeals to Philip to act up to the glorious deeds of his ancestors, and gain renown for himself and Hellas.

THE ARGUMENT OF THE DISCOURSE TO PHILIP, BY AN UNKNOWN WRITER.

It should be known that this discourse was written to Philip by Isocrates after the peace which was brought about by the followers of Aeschines and Demosthenes; in consequence of which he took the opportunity to write to him, Philip, as

having become a friend of Athens. Under the guise of an eulogy upon him, he exhorts him to reconcile the great Hellenic states which were quarrelling with each other, and to take the field against the Persians. "For it becomes you," he says, "to do this, being an Heraclid and possessed of such power." Now Philip, after receiving and reading the discourse, was not persuaded by its contents, but delayed for a while; but afterwards his son Alexander read the discourse, and fired with enthusiasm, made war against the later Darius, who was also called Ochus. For his proper name was Ochus, but in flattery the Persians gave him the name of Darius, after his early ancestors.

The character of the discourse is practical, in the form of advice. It was written by Isocrates when an old man, a short while before his own and Philip's death, as Hermippus tells us.

THE PHILIPPUS.

1. Do not wonder, Philip, that I am going to begin, not with the speech which I propose to address to you, and which is now about to be set before you, but with what I have written about Amphipolis.[1] On this subject I wish first to say a few words, that I may prove to you and to the world that it is not through ignorance or under a delusion as to my present infirmity that I have undertaken the task of writing the discourse addressed to you, but advisedly and led on by slow degrees.

2. For, seeing that the war in which you and this state were involved about Amphipolis was producing many evils, I essayed the task of using concerning that city and its territory arguments bearing no resemblance to those which

[1] "Amphipolis was a city at the head of the Strymonic Gulf. It had been built formerly by an Athenian colony (B.C. 437, under Hagnon), and was taken by the Spartan general Brasidas in the Peloponnesian war. Ever since Athens regained her character of an imperial state, she had desired to recover Amphipolis, which was important for its maritime position, its exportation of iron, and especially from the vicinity of the forests near the Strymon, which afforded an inexhaustible supply of ship-timber. But she had never been able to accomplish that object. Philip, who at the time possessed no maritime town of importance, was anxious to gain Amphipolis for himself; and he got possession of it partly by force of arms, partly by the treachery of certain Amphipolitans who were attached to his interest. It seems the Athenians had been fooled by a promise of Philip to give up the town to them. The non-performance of this compact led to their first long war with him."—C. R. K.

were in the mouths of your friends or of the orators among us, but as far as possible removed from their line of thought. 3. For they were inciting you to the war, advocating the cause of your passions; I, on the contrary, expressed no opinion at all on disputed matters, but devoted my attention to the argument which of all others I supposed to be most likely to produce peace, urging that both of you were mistaken in your judgment of affairs, and that while you, Philip, were fighting in furtherance of our interests, the state was fighting in support of your power; for that it was to your advantage that we should possess the territory in question, and to ours not to acquire it by any means whatever. 4. And the opinion of my pupils as to my treatment of this question was such as to lead no one of them to praise the argument or the style for accuracy and clearness, as some are wont to do, but to cause them to admire the truth of the matter expressed, 5. and to consider that the only way for you to cease on either side from your rivalry was for you, Philip, to be convinced that the friendship of our state would be worth more to you than the revenues accruing from Amphipolis, and for our state to be able to recognise the policy of avoiding the kind of settlements which have brought ruin four or five times over on those domiciled in them, and of looking for places lying far from neighbours with a capacity for ruling, and near those who have become accustomed to slavery, such as the place to which the Lacedaemonians have removed the Cyreneans;[1] 6. and besides this, you should recognise that a verbal renunciation of this territory to us will enable you in reality to become master of it, and moreover to earn our goodwill (for all the colonists that we

[1] The city of Cyrene in Africa was founded by Battus about B.C. 630. It was a colony from the island of Thera (formerly Calliste) in the Ægean, which was itself a colony from Sparta. It planted several colonies in the adjoining district, the most important of which was Barca.

send within reach of your power will be so many hostages of friendship for you from us), and our people should be taught that, if we take Amphipolis, we shall be compelled to observe the same kind of friendliness to your policy for the sake of the inhabitants of that place, that we had to observe towards Amadocus[1] of old for the sake of those who tilled the soil of the Chersonese. 7. By the use of many arguments of this character I caused all that heard them to hope that, after my discourse had been circulated, you would conclude the war, change your opinions, and adopt some common policy for your mutual good. Whether they were foolish or sensible in thinking thus, they are the proper persons to bear the responsibility; but while I was engaged on this business you anticipated me by making peace before my discourse was finally completed, and in that you were wise; for it was better that peace should be concluded in any way whatever than that we should be exposed to the evils arising in consequence of the war. 8. Rejoicing then at the resolutions to which you had come concerning peace, and thinking that they would be to your advantage, and to that of all the rest of Hellas as well as to ours, I was unable to divert my thoughts from what was connected with it, but was in such a frame of mind that I set to work to consider at once how to give permanence to what we had achieved and to prevent our state from again, after a short interval, desiring other wars; 9. an examination of these questions in my own mind led me to the conclusion that there was no other way for her to live in quiet, except by the determination

[1] Amadocus was king of the Odrysian Thracians. In B.C. 392 Thrasybulus sailed to the Hellespont, effected a reconciliation between him and Seuthes, a neighbouring prince, and concluded an alliance with both of them, in order to protect Athenian interests in that quarter. The Thracian Chersonese had been colonized by Athens in the time of Solon. There was also a younger Amadocus, who appears as an opponent of Philip.

of the leading states to make up their mutual quarrels and carry the war into Asia, and by their resolving to win from the barbarians the selfish advantages which they now look for at the expense of Hellenes; which was the policy I have already advised in the Panegyric discourse.

10. On these reflections, thinking that I could never find a subject nobler than this, or one of more general application or more conducive to the interests of us all, I was moved to write upon it again, not in any ignorance of my own deficiencies, but knowing that this discourse was not suited to one of my age, but required a man in the prime of life and with powers far beyond those of other men, 11. and aware that it is difficult to utter two discourses on the same subject in any fashion that can be tolerated, especially if the one first published has been written in such a manner that it is imitated and admired even more by our detractors than by our most extravagant eulogists. 12. But nevertheless, overlooking these disabilities, I have become so ambitious in old age that I resolved to combine with the observations I should address to you some hints to those who have worked with me,[1] and to make it clear that to trouble the Great Festivals with oratory, and to speak to the crowds who come together there, is to speak without an audience; speeches of this kind are as ineffectual as laws and constitutions written out by the sophists;[2] 13. those who wish, on the contrary, to do some practical good instead of idly trifling, and those who think they have formed ideas of value to the community, must leave others to figure at the Festivals, and must take a champion for their cause from among those who are powerful in speech and action and who have great reputations, if, that

[1] *i.e.*, his pupils.

[2] "Sophists" is not here used in a disparaging sense. Isocrates is expressing his regret that speeches like the Panegyricus and the views expressed by philosophers and rhetoricians are equally ineffectual.

is to say, anyone is to pay attention to them. 14. Knowing these things, I elected to address my discourse to you, not making this choice to win your favour, although it is true, I should consider it of great importance to speak in a manner acceptable to you, but it was not to this end that I directed my thoughts. But I saw that all the other men of repute were living under the rule of states and laws, without power to do anything but obey orders, and besides were far too weak for the enterprise which I shall propose, 15. while to you alone had fortune given full power to send ambassadors to whomsoever you chose and to receive them from whomsoever you pleased, and to say whatever you should deem it expedient to say, and besides this, that you were the possessor to a greater degree than any man in Hellas of wealth and power, the only two things in existence which can both persuade and compel; things, too, which I think will be required by the enterprise which I am going to propose. 16. For my intention is to advise you to take the lead both in securing the harmony of Hellas and in conducting the expedition against the barbarians; and persuasion is expedient with the Greeks, and force useful with the barbarians. Such, then, is the general scope of my discourse.

17. Now I will not hesitate to tell you what has been an occasion for some annoyance to me from a portion of my followers; for I think it will be of some advantage to mention it. When I made known to them my intention to send you an address, not with a view of making a display of my art, or of celebrating the wars which you have carried out (others will do this), but in order to try to lead you to lines of policy more proper, more noble, and more advantageous than those which you have hitherto adopted, 18. they were so struck with the fear that old age had caused my senses to desert me that they ventured to upbraid me, a thing which they have never before been accustomed to do. They accused me of attempting a strange and exceedingly foolish task, "in that you," said they, "are proposing to send a

letter of advice to Philip, who, even if he ever considered himself the inferior of any man in wisdom, must now on account of the greatness of the good fortune which has befallen him think himself better able to take counsel than anyone else. 19. Further, he has also at his side the most competent men in Macedonia, who, it is probable, even though unversed in other matters, understand his interests at least better than you do. Moreover, you will also find many of the Hellenes living in that country, men not devoid of reputation or good sense, but men by the help of whose counsels he has not diminished the power of his throne, but has achieved things worth praying for. 20. For what is wanting to complete his success? Has he not caused the Thessalians,[1] whose rule formerly extended over Macedonia, to be so friendly disposed to him, that they one and all have more confidence in him than in their own compatriots? And as to the cities in that locality,[2] has he not either won them over by kindness to alliance with him, or when they grievously vexed him reduced them to ruins?[3] 21. Has he not overthrown the Magnesians and the Perrhaebans[4] and the Paeonians[5] and brought them all into subjection, become lord and master of the Illyrian

[1] Amyntas, the father of Philip, had been expelled from his kingdom by the Thessalians. In later times, when Lycophron succeeded Jason as Tagus of Pherae, the great families (especially the Aleuadae of Larissa) of the north, being discontented with his rule, invoked the aid of Philip, who defeated and drove him out. At the close of the Sacred War Philip restored Magnesia (a peninsula on the east of Thessaly) to them.

[2] In the Thracian Chersonese.

[3] Such as Olynthus and Methone. He lost an eye during the siege of the latter.

[4] They dwelt in the Thessalian provinces of Hestiaeotis and Pelasgiotis.

[5] With the Paeonians (who inhabited the valley of the Axius) Philip made peace by bribery and persuasion; but soon afterwards, on the death of their king, violated the peace and subdued the country.

people[1] except those who live on the shores of the Adriatic, and placed the whole of Thrace under despots of his own choosing?[2] Do you not think then," say they, "that one who has accomplished such high achievements will hold the sender of this pamphlet to be guilty of great folly and will consider that he has much mistaken the power of oratory and his own ability?" 22. How on hearing these criticisms I was dumbfounded for the moment, and again how I recovered myself and replied to each point, I will let pass, lest some should even think me too complaisant in courteously defending myself against my opponents; having, however, so I persuaded myself, delivered a moderate attack upon those who ventured to upbraid me, I finally promised that I would show my discourse to no one in the city but to them, and would take no further step in the matter except with their approval.

23. On hearing this they went away with I know not what opinion. But when, not many days afterwards, I had completed the discourse and shown it to them, they so entirely changed their opinions that they were ashamed of their audacious comments, repented of all that they had said, confessed that they had never yet been so much mistaken in any matter, and were more eager than I myself that this discourse should be sent to you, expressing their expectation that not only you and our state, but all Hellas, would be grateful to me for what I had said.

24. Now my reason for telling you this is, that if any of my opening suggestions should appear incredible, or im-

[1] Philip undertook a successful expedition into Illyricum, and annexed all the country from Lake Lychnitis to the Ionian sea.

[2] Cp. Dem. Olynth. i. 13 for the whole passage: "Having first taken Amphipolis, then Pydna, Potidaea next, Methone afterwards, he invaded Thessaly. Having ordered matters at Pherae, Pagasae, Magnesia, everywhere exactly as he pleased, he departed for Thrace, where, after displacing some kings and establishing others, he fell sick."—C. R. K.

possible, or unbecoming for you to follow, you may not turn away in disgust from the rest, or fall into the same error as my friends, but may continue undisturbed in your mind until you have heard to the end all that I have to say. For I think I shall say what the occasion and your interests require. 25. Now I have not forgotten the great advantage which spoken discourses have over written for purposes of persuasion, nor the universal impression that the former are delivered in reference to serious and pressing affairs, the latter composed merely for display or for the sake of gain. 26. And these conclusions are not without reason; for when the discourse is robbed of the personal repute of the speaker, of the tones of his voice, and of the changes of expression which oratory can command, and has lost, moreover, the advantages of time and place, and of the enthusiasm aroused by the business in hand, and when everything is absent that can fight on the speaker's side and further his arguments,—when the discourse is bare and destitute of all that I have mentioned, and is read in an unpersuasive way, without conveying any moral impression of the writer, and with the air of one who is telling over an inventory, it naturally appears to the audience to be a poor production. 27. These causes will especially injure the discourse which is now put forward, and make it appear poorer than it is; for we have not adorned it with the rhythmic harmonies and varied ornaments of style, which I not only used myself in my younger days, but taught to others as a means of making their discourses at once more attractive and more convincing. 28. Of these things I am no longer capable on account of my age, but I am so far content, if I can put before you in plain language the actual subject-matter of my address. And I think that you on your part ought to apply your mind to this subject only to the neglect of everything else. Now the most accurate and best method of considering whether there is anything in

what we say, 29. is to dismiss the prejudices concerning sophists and published discourses, and to take each of my discourses into your consideration and subject them to scrutiny, not regarding the task as one for leisure hours, nor pursuing it in any light-hearted spirit, but applying reasoning and philosophy, of which, too, they say you have acquired a share; for by these aids to your inquiry you will be better enabled to form an opinion than by the opinion of the majority. This, then, concludes what I wished to say by way of preface.

30. I will now direct my remarks to my subject itself. I say that, while neglecting none of your private interests, you ought to try to effect a reconciliation between Argos, Sparta, Thebes, and our state; for if you are able to bring these together, you will have no difficulty in causing the other states to agree; 31. for they are all under the influence of those which I have mentioned, and when in fear take refuge with one or other of those states, and draw their succours from thence. So that if you can persuade four states only to be wise, you will release the rest also from many evils.

32. Now you will feel that there is no one of these states that you should despise, if you trace back their conduct towards your ancestors; for you will find that each one is to be credited with much friendship and great kindnesses towards your house: Argos[1] is your fatherland, for which it is right for you to have as much regard as for your own parents; the Thebans honour the founder of your race both with processions and with sacrifices more than all the other gods; 33. the Lacedaemonians[2] have bestowed on

[1] Caranus, or (according to a different story) Perdiccas, the founder of the royal house of Macedonia, originally came from Argos. He was a descendant of the Temenidae. Temenus was one of the Heraclidae, and thus Heracles was the ancestor of the Macedonian kings.

[2] See "Panegyricus," § 61.

his descendants both royalty and leadership for all time; and our state, say those whom we trust in matters of ancient history, contributed to win immortality for Heracles (in what way, it is easy for you to learn once more, but not seasonable for me now to tell) and deliverance for his children. 34. For by sustaining alone the most severe struggles against the power of Eurystheus, she made him to cease from his insolence, and released the children of Heracles from the fears which were continually coming upon them. For these services we deserve the gratitude not only of those who were then preserved, but also of those of the present generation; for it is owing to us that they both live and enjoy their present prosperity; for it would not have been possible for them to have been born at all if the men of old had not been saved.

35. Since therefore this has been the behaviour of all these states, there ought not ever to have been any quarrel between you and any one of them. But we are all so constituted by nature as to go wrong more often than right; so that it is but fair to place past events to a common account, and for the time to come to take care that nothing of the kind shall befall you, and to consider what kindness you can render them by which you may display conduct worthy of yourself and of their services. 36. And you have a good opportunity; for on account of the length of time which has intervened, they will suppose, when you are repaying your obligations, that you are making the first advances; and it is a good thing to appear as the benefactor of the leading states, and at the same time to be furthering your own interests no less than theirs. 37. Besides this, you will remove any unpleasant relations that you have had with any of them; for services rendered at the present juncture will cause the offences you have formerly committed against each other to be forgotten. Moreover, it is also beyond question, that there is nothing which all men remember so well as kindnesses received in

times of trouble. 38. And you can see how they have been reduced to distress by the war, and how like they are to individual combatants. For the latter, too, when their wrath is rising, cannot be reconciled by anyone; but when they have used each other severely, they separate of their own accord without the need of anyone's mediation. This is just what I think these states will do, if you do not anticipate them by taking the matter in your own hands.

39. Now someone will perhaps venture to oppose what I have said, on the ground that I am endeavouring to induce you to undertake an impossible task: "the Argives can never," he may say, "be friends with the Lacedaemonians, or the Lacedaemonians with the Thebans, nor, in a word, can those who have been accustomed always to seek their selfish interests ever cast in their lot with one another." 40. I think, however, that nothing of this kind could have been effected when our state, or again when Lacedaemon, held the supremacy in Hellas; for either of them could have easily prevented what was going forward; but now I no longer have the same opinion of them. For I know that they have all been brought to a level by their misfortunes, so that I think they will much prefer the benefits of union to the selfish advantages of their former policy.

41. Then again I admit that there is no one else who could reconcile these states, but to you no such undertaking is hard. For I see that you have accomplished many things which others considered hopeless and beyond expectation, so that it would not be strange if you alone should be capable of effecting this union.

Now men of high aspirations and eminent position should not attempt enterprises which any ordinary man could carry out, but should confine themselves to those which no one would attempt but men of abilities and power like yours.

42. Now I am surprised that those, who consider it impossible that any such policy should be effected, do not

know from their own experience, or have not heard from others, that there have been indeed many terrible wars the parties to which have become reconciled and done each other great services. What could exceed the enmity between Xerxes and the Hellenes? Yet everyone knows that both we and the Lacedaemonians were more pleased with the friendship of Xerxes than of those[1] who helped us to found our respective empires. 43. And why need we refer to ancient history or to our relations with the barbarians? An examination and inquiry into the misfortunes of Hellas as a whole will show that they bear no proportion to the evils which have befallen us through Thebes and Lacedaemon.[2] Yet none the less, when the Lacedaemonians made war against the Thebans with the intention of ravaging Boeotia and breaking up its cities, we gave our help and disappointed their desires;[3] 44. and when fortune changed again, and the Thebans and all the Peloponnesians attempted to lay Sparta in ruins, we alone in Hellas made an alliance even with our ancient foes and contributed to their preservation.[4] 45. A man then would be full of folly who could watch the course of such changes, and see the states, regarding neither enmity nor oaths[5] nor anything else but what they suppose to be for their advan-

[1] Pausanias and Themistocles.

[2] After the capture of Athens by Lysander, the Thebans and Corinthians proposed that the inhabitants should be sold into slavery, and the city razed to the ground.

[3] In the summer of B.C. 378, Agesilaus invaded Boeotia with a large army, but was unable to effect anything decisive. The Athenians sent Chabrias with 5,000 infantry to assist Thebes, and forced Agesilaus to withdraw after devastating the country.

[4] Two years after the battle of Leuctra, Epaminondas, assisted by the Argives, Arcadians, and Eleans, invaded Lacedaemon. The Spartans, in their distress, invoked the aid of the Athenians, who sent Iphicrates into Peloponnesus with 12,000 men, and checked the progress of Epaminondas.

[5] Peace was concluded on more than one occasion between Sparta and Athens, but was soon broken.

tage, caring only for that, and devoting all their energies to that end, and not suppose that they would be of the same mind now as they always have been, especially with you to preside over the settlement of their disputes, which expediency recommends and present necessity compels. For I think that with these influences fighting on your side everything will turn out as you wish.

46. Now I think that the best way for you to learn whether these states are disposed to peace or war among themselves would be for me to give an account, not merely in general terms, nor yet too much in detail, of the chief features of their present position. And first let us consider the position of the Lacedaemonians.

47. This people, not so long ago the rulers of Hellas by land and sea, suffered such a reversal of fortune, when defeated in the battle of Leuctra, that they were deprived of the supremacy in Hellas, and lost such men among them as chose to die rather than to live in subjection to those whose masters they formerly were. 48. Besides this, they had to look on and see all the Peloponnesians, who formerly followed in their train against the rest of Hellas, joining the Thebans in invading their country, against whom they were compelled to fight, not in the country for the harvest, but in the midst of their city, even at the seat of government, to save their wives and children, a struggle in which failure would have been immediate destruction, while victory has not released them from their miseries; 49. they are subjected to war by the dwellers around[1] their country, distrusted by all the Peloponnesians, and hated by the majority of the Hellenes; they are robbed and harried night and day by their own slaves,[2] and no time passes but they are either making expeditions or fighting battles, or helping their perishing fellow-countrymen. 50. But the greatest of their woes is this: they continue in dread lest

[1] The Argives and Messenians joined Philip against Sparta.

[2] *i.e.*, the Helots.

the Thebans should settle their quarrel with the Phocians,[1] come against them again, and involve them in greater disasters than those they have already incurred.

Now how can one fail to suppose that men in such a position would gladly see negotiations for peace presided over by a man of consideration, able to bring to a close the wars which threaten them? 51. The Argives, moreover, you will find to be in some respects in a like condition with those we have mentioned, and in other respects worse off than they; for ever since they have occupied their city they have been engaged in war with their neighbours, as the Lacedaemonians have, but with this difference, that the foes of the former were weaker than themselves, those of the latter stronger; which everyone will admit to be the greatest misfortune. They have been so unfortunate in war, that almost every year they have stood by to see their territory ravaged and laid waste. 52. But the worst of all is to come: whenever their enemies cease from injuring them, they themselves put to death the most distinguished and wealthy of their citizens, and feel more pleasure in doing this than any other people feel in slaying their enemies.[2] Now the reason of their living in such a state of confusion is no other than the war; and if you put an end to this, you will not only release them from these miseries, but you will also cause them to be better advised in their general conduct. 53. Now the condition of the Thebans even you are acquainted with. After having won a splendid victory,[3] and gained great glory from it, through not making good use of their successes they are no better situated than those who were defeated and unsuccessful. For they had hardly overcome their enemies, when, neglecting everything, they proceeded to annoy the Peloponnesian

[1] See § 54.

[2] There was a perpetual feud between the supporters of oligarchy and democracy in Argos.

[3] At Leuctra (B.C. 371).

states,[1] ventured to reduce Thessaly to slavery,[2] threatened their neighbours the Megarians, robbed our state of a portion of its territory,[3] laid waste Euboea, and began to send triremes to Byzantium as if they were going to be lords of land and sea. 54. Finally they carried war against the Phocians [4] with the intention of mastering the cities in a short time, occupying the whole of the surrounding district,

[1] With especial reference to the founding of Megalopolis by Epaminondas.

[2] Referring to the defeat of Alexander, the tyrant of Pherae, by Pelopidas in B.C. 364.

[3] The reference is to Oropus. "This town was on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, on the coast opposite Eretria in Euboea. It anciently belonged to Athens, but frequently changed masters. In the twentieth year of the Peloponnesian war it was betrayed to the Boeotians and Euboeans. It became independent at the close of the war; but a few years after, the Thebans took advantage of some internal disturbances to seize the city, which they removed nearly a mile from the coast, and annexed to the Boeotian confederacy. A new revolution some time after restored it to Athens. But in B.C. 366 Themison, ruler of Eretria, got possession of it by the aid of some exiles. The Athenians marched against him, but, the Thebans also making their appearance with an army, they were induced to leave Oropus under Theban protection, until the dispute could be amicably settled. The Thebans, however, kept it in their own hands; and so it remained until after the battle of Chaeronea, when Philip give it up to the Athenians."—C. R. K.

[4] The Sacred War (B.C. 356-346). Owing to the influence of Thebes the Amphictyonic Council (who looked after the rights of the Delphian God) were induced to impose a heavy fine upon the Phocians for having cultivated a portion of the Cirrhaean plain, which had been consecrated and was to lie waste for ever. The Phocians refused to pay the fine. This led to a war, in which the Phocians under Philomelus captured Delphi, and appropriated the treasures of the temple to furnish pay for mercenaries. The Thebans in the end sought the aid of Philip, who, after having made peace with the Athenians (who had supported the Phocians), entered Phocis, which surrendered unconditionally and was severely punished. The result of this war was to render Macedon the leading power of Greece.

and overcoming the Delphic treasure by the contributions they could levy from their own resources. None of these hopes were realized; instead of having taken the cities of the Phocians they have lost their own, and they inflicted less injury upon their enemies by invading their country than they suffer themselves in returning to their own; 55. for in Phocis they killed some of the mercenaries, to whom death is more profitable than life, but on their way home they lost the most distinguished of their own citizens, and those most ready to die for their country. Their affairs have come to such a pass that, from hoping that all Hellas would be at their feet, they now rest on you their hopes for their own preservation. So that I think they too will speedily do whatever you urge and advise. 56. It would have still remained for us to speak about our own state, had she not wisely made peace before the others. And now I think she would even contend in support of your policy, especially if she can feel that you are settling these matters with a view to the campaign against the barbarian.

57. So then I think that it has been made clear to you from what I have said, that it is not impossible for you to bring these states into union; nay more, I think that by many illustrations I shall bring you to the opinion that you can even do so easily. For if I can show that others among those who have lived before you have engaged in no enterprise either more honourable or more hallowed than that which I have advised, but have accomplished things greater and more difficult than these, what argument will remain for those who contend in reply that you will not accomplish the easier tasks more quickly than they accomplished the harder ones?

58. Consider first the story of Alcibiades.[1] When he fled

[1] Alcibiades was accused (B.C. 415) of having profaned the Eleusinian Mysteries, and was ordered to return from Sicily to stand his trial. He succeeded, however, in making his escape to Cyllene in Peloponnesus, where he received a special invitation to

from our state, seeing that all others who had suffered the same punishment before him had been cowed into submission by reason of the greatness of the state, he was not of the same mind with them, but thinking that he must try to return home by force, he determined to make war upon her. 59. Now if one should attempt to recount in detail the events of that time, one would not be able to describe them accurately, and in view of the present occasion might perhaps cause weariness; but into such confusion did he throw not only our state, but also the Lacedaemonians and the rest of Hellas, that we fared as everyone knows, and the other states met with such troubles that the disasters caused among them by that war are not even yet forgotten, 60. and the Lacedaemonians who then appeared fortunate have, owing to Alcibiades, fallen into their present misfortunes; for, persuaded by him to aim at the dominion of the sea, they lost even their supremacy by land, 61, so that if one were to say that the beginning of their present troubles was when they began to acquire the empire of the sea, he would not be convicted of falsehood. Well, then, Alcibiades, after having been the cause of so many evils, returned home from exile, having obtained great reputation but not universally commended. Not many years afterwards Conon [1] did the like. 62. Having been unsuccessful in the sea-fight at the Hellespont,[2] not by his own fault but by that of his fellow-commanders, he was ashamed to come home, and, sailing to Cyprus, spent some time in attention to his private affairs, but learning that Agesilaus [3] with a large force had crossed over to Asia and was laying

Sparta. On his arrival he revealed all the plans of Athens, and advised the Lacedaemonians to send an army into Sicily, and to establish a fortified post at Decelea, in Attic territory.

[1] Alcibiades returned in B.C. 407: Conon fled to Cyprus B.C. 405, was intrusted with the command of the Persian fleet B.C. 396, and gained the victory of Cnidus B.C. 394.

[2] The battle of Aegospotami.

[3] See "Panegyricus," § 144.

waste the country, he showed such a lofty spirit that, 63. having no other resources than his own body and mind, he hoped to out-fight the Lacedaemonians, rulers of Hellas by land and sea, and this in a message to the King's generals[1] he promised to do. And why is there any need to finish the story? Collecting a fleet off Rhodes[2] and winning the sea-fight, he deposed the Lacedaemonians from their empire and liberated Hellas, 64. and not only did he restore the walls of his country,[3] but he raised the state to the same height of renown from which it had fallen. Now who would have expected that by a man who was brought so low the affairs of Hellas would be revolutionized, and some Hellenic states be humiliated and others brought to the front? 65. Further, Dionysius (for I wish you to be convinced by many examples of the easiness of the undertaking to which I am urging you), in birth, reputation, and everything else merely one among a crowd of other Syracusans,[4] unreasonably and insanely set his heart upon monarchy, dared everything which might lead to that position of power, became master of Syracuse, overthrew all the cities in Sicily that were of Hellenic origin,[5] and surrounded himself with a more powerful force, both military and naval, than any man before him. 66. Then again, Cyrus (that we may remember the barbarians too), exposed by his mother on the public way, and taken up by a Persian woman, experienced such a change of fortune that he became lord of all Asia.

67. Now when Alcibiades the exile, Conon the defeated

[1] Especially Pharnabazus.

[2] See "Panegyricus," § 142.

[3] In B.C. 393 Conon "carried his victorious fleet (with the permission of Pharnabazus) to Athens, and with the help of his seamen and a large supply of Persian gold restored the long walls which connected Athens and Piraeus" (C. R. K.).

[4] Dionysius the Elder was originally a scribe or secretary in a public office. His father Hermocrates was a donkey driver.

[5] Such as Aetna, Catana, Naxos, Leontini.

general, Dionysius the undistinguished nonentity, and Cyrus the man of so wretched an origin, rose to such greatness and wrought such great achievements, how can you, a man of illustrious birth, king of Macedonia, master over so many, fail to expect that you will easily effect the union which I have suggested to you?

68. Now consider the fitness of devoting yourself mainly to enterprises of that kind, in which by success you will place your reputation in competition with the first and foremost, and if you fail in your expectation you will at least win the goodwill of Hellas, the acquisition of which is a far nobler thing than the forcible capture of many Greek cities. For such achievements bring envy and ill-will and much evil speaking, but the course which I have advised involves none of these things. Nay, if some god should give you the choice of the kind of pursuit and occupation in which you would long to pass your life, you would choose no other, if you took my advice, in preference to this. 69. For not only will you be deemed happy by others, but you will recognise your own bliss. For what could surpass the happiness of your position, when from the greatest states the men of most renown are come as ambassadors to your throne, and you take counsel with them about the common welfare, for which no other man will appear to have taken such thought: 70. when, further, you perceive that the whole of Hellas is on tiptoe in regard to the proposals you may make, and no one is indifferent to what is decided upon at your court, but some make inquiries concerning the state of affairs, others pray to Heaven that you may not fail to obtain the object of your desires, while others are afraid that something may happen to you before you have accomplished your undertaking? 71. If you should succeed, you would have a right to be proud, and could not help feeling highly delighted all your life in the knowledge that you had been at the head of so great an undertaking. Who of the number of those who are endowed with even mode-

rate reasoning powers would not exhort you to give the preference to such actions as are able to produce at the same time the fruits of surpassing pleasure and imperishable honour?

72. I should be satisfied with what I have already said on this subject, had I not omitted one point, not from forgetfulness, but from a certain unwillingness to mention it. However, I think I ought to disclose it now, for I am of opinion that it is as much to your advantage to hear what I have to say concerning it, as it is becoming to me to speak with my accustomed freedom.

73. I perceive that you are calumniated by those who are jealous of you and are accustomed to throw their own cities into confusion, who regard the peace which is for the public advantage as a war against their own private interests, and, unconcerned about everything else, speak of nothing but your power, asserting that its growth is not for the interests of Hellas but against them, and that you have been already for a long time plotting against us, 74. and that, while you pretend to be anxious to assist the Messenians, as soon as you have settled with the Phocians,[1] you are in reality endeavouring to get Peloponnesus into your power. They further assert that the Thessalians, Thebans, and all the members of the Amphictyonic league[2] are ready to follow you, and that the

[1] When Philip commenced operations against the Phocians (B.C. 352) the Spartans were involved in a war with the Messenians, who concluded a treaty with Philip.

[2] "The Amphictyonic league was a federal union of Hellenic tribes, having for its object the maintenance of a common religion and nationality. The various deputies met twice a year, not only to celebrate games and festivals, but to transact the business of the league, to determine questions of international law and religion. The oracular sanctity of Delphi gave a dignity to these meetings, but the rivalry and jealousies of the more powerful Hellenic states did not in general permit them to be controlled by Amphictyonic decrees. The three Sacred Wars were instances in which their de-

Argives, Messenians, Megalopolitans and many others are prepared to fight on your side and to exterminate the Lacedaemonians; and, if you do this, they say that you will easily overcome the rest of the Hellenes. 75. By talking such nonsense and pretending that they possess an accurate knowledge of affairs, and by speedily overthrowing everything in their speech,[1] they persuade many, in the first place, those who desire the same evils as the speech-makers; in the next place, those who exercise no judgment in regard to public affairs, but are altogether apathetic and exceedingly grateful to those who pretend fear and anxiety on their behalf; and lastly, those who do not reject the idea that you are plotting against the Hellenes, but think that what you are charged with is not unworthy of your efforts. 76. The judgment of the latter is so far from being correct, that they are not aware that, by means of the same statements, a man might hurt some and benefit others. For instance, in the present case, if one were to assert that the king of Asia was plotting against the Hellenes and was preparing to march against us, in that he would say nothing to his disparagement, but would make him appear more courageous and deserving of greater consideration; but if, on the other hand, anyone were to bring such a charge against one of the descendants of Heracles, who proved himself the benefactor of all Hellas, he would bring the greatest shame upon him. 77. For who could help feeling indignation and hatred if a man were seen to be plotting against those on whose behalf his ancestor elected to undergo perils, and, instead of endeavouring to maintain the legacy of goodwill which he bequeathed to

crees were enforced by combination; but in the two last, for which Philip's aid was invited, there was but little enthusiasm in the cause from any motive of religion or patriotism."—C. R. K.

[1] These words are explained by Benseler to mean: "Without more ado they make out that everything is brought into subjection to you." Lange renders, "give a distorted account of everything."

his posterity, were to pay no heed to this and to devote his attention to disgraceful and evil undertakings?

78. This you must bear in mind, and not view with indifference the growth of such a report concerning yourself, which your enemies seek to fix upon you, and which every one of your friends would venture to contradict on your behalf. However, you will best discern the truth in regard to your interests by considering the views held by both.

79. Now, you perhaps consider it weak-minded to pay attention to detractors and babblers and those who listen to them, especially when you are conscious of no offence on your part. You must not, however, despise the multitude, nor think it of little importance to be in good repute amongst all; and you ought not to consider that you enjoy an honourable and great reputation, such as is worthy of yourself, your ancestors, and their glorious deeds, 80. until you have so disposed the Hellenes towards you, as you see the Lacedaemonians are disposed towards their kings and your own friends towards yourself. And this result is not difficult of attainment, if you once show your willingness to make yourself accessible to all, and cease to be on friendly terms with some states, while showing yourself strange towards others; and if, further, you elect to act in a manner whereby you will both gain the confidence of the Hellenes and inspire the barbarians with fear.

81. And do not be surprised that I, who am neither a general nor a public speaker, nor in any other respects a man of influence, have addressed you more boldly than the rest in the same manner as I have also written to Dionysius,[1] who acquired supreme power for himself. For,

[1] Dionysius I. of Syracuse, who in B.C. 405 made himself master of Syracuse, and established himself as a "tyrant," a word not to be taken in the modern sense, but as defined by Professor Freeman, "one who exercises regal functions in a state where royalty is not recognised by the laws." He died B.C. 367, and was suc-

in regard to political life, I am by nature less fitted for it than any of the citizens, since I possess neither a sufficiently strong voice nor nerve to enable me to mix with the crowd, to endure its contamination, and to bandy abuse with those who haunt the public platform; 82. but, as to correct judgment and good education, at the risk of seeming to express myself too bluntly, to that I lay claim, and am inclined to rank myself not among the last but among the foremost. And this is why I endeavour to give counsel to the city, to the Hellenes, and to the most distinguished among mankind as far as my natural powers permit me.

83. In regard to myself and the course of action you ought to pursue in reference to the Hellenes, you have heard nearly all I have to say; concerning the expedition to Asia, I will give my advice to the cities, which I said it should be your task to reconcile, as to the proper manner of carrying on war against the barbarians, when I see them united; at present, I will address myself to you, although not with the same feelings as at the time when I wrote on the same subject.[1] 84. For then I invited my hearers to cover me with laughter and contempt, if I should appear to have spoken in a manner unworthy of the position of affairs, of my own reputation, and of the time spent on the composition of my speech, whereas now I am afraid that perhaps my discourse may fall far short of the claims I have advanced. Besides, the speech I delivered at the festival, which has afforded abundant material to those who devote themselves to the study of practical philosophy,[2] has greatly

ceeded by his son Dionysius the Younger, who, after having been expelled from Syracuse, recovered possession of it in B.C. 346, the year in which this speech was written. The reference here is to the "letter" sent by Isocrates (Epistle I.) to Dionysius the Elder a little before his death.

[1] Referring to the "Panegyricus" (see § 14 of that speech).

[2] For the "philosophy" of Isocrates, see Introduction, § 6.

crippled my own resources. For I neither wish to repeat what I have already written, nor can I find anything new to say. 85. However, I must not on that account shrink from the duty, but must say whatever presents itself as likely to assist in persuading you to undertake the task which is the subject of my speech. For even should I fall short in any respect, and prove unable to write after the style of my former publications, yet I think that I shall at least be able to give an interesting outline to those who are able to fill in and complete it.

86. I think that I have commenced my whole discourse in such a manner as befits those who recommend a campaign against Asia. For nothing ought to be done until one finds the Hellenes doing one of two things: either rendering actual assistance, or showing themselves decidedly favourable to the undertaking. Agesilaus,[1] although he had the reputation of being the most prudent amongst the Lacedaemonians, neglected this, not from feebleness of intellect, but from ambition. 87. This prince was possessed by two desires, both honourable, but incompatible, and incapable of being realized at the same time; for he proposed at one and the same time to make war against the Great King,[2] and to restore his partisans to their cities, and to make them masters of affairs. The result of his efforts on behalf of his friends was to involve the Hellenes in calamities and dangers, and owing to the confusion arising therefrom they had neither leisure nor means to carry on the war against the barbarians. 88. From this it is easy to see, in the light of what was not understood at that time, that those who would counsel aright ought not to carry war into the King's country, until someone has reconciled the Hellenes and made them desist from their present folly. And this is just the advice I have given to you.

[1] His reign lasted from B.C. 398 to B.C. 361.

[2] Artaxerxes Mnemon.

89. On this point no sensible man would venture to contradict me, but I think that it would occur to any others who should propose to offer advice concerning the expedition to Asia, to recommend it, by pointing out that all whose lot it has been to undertake war against the barbarians, from obscurity have gained renown, from poverty wealth, and from low estate the ownership of many lands and cities. 90. Now I do not propose to encourage you by means of such instances, but rather by reminding you of the fortune of those who are considered to have been unfortunate, I mean those who accompanied the expedition of Cyrus and Clearchus.[1] It is agreed that they gained as complete a victory over the whole of the King's forces as if they had fought against the Persian women, but that, when they seemed to have the mastery of affairs already within their grasp, they failed owing to the impetuosity of Cyrus; for in his exultation he carried his pursuit beyond the rest, and, falling into the midst of the enemy, met his death. 91. But, in spite of the great disaster that had befallen his foes,[2] the King had such a contempt for his own power, that he invited Clearchus and the other commanders to a conference, promising to bestow upon them valuable presents, and full pay and release from service to the rest of the soldiers. Having allured them by such expectations and given them the most solemn pledges of the country, he seized and put them to death, preferring to sin against the gods rather than to engage in battle with soldiers who were thus destitute.

92. What encouragement could be better and more convincing than this? For it is clear that they also would have overthrown the power of the King, had it not been for Cyrus. But for you it is not difficult to avoid the disaster that then occurred, and it is easy for you to equip an army far stronger than that which overthrew his forces. Since,

[1] See "Panegyricus," § 145.

[2] Wolf renders: "The good fortune that had befallen him."

then, you will be able to do both, how can you help undertaking this expedition with the fullest confidence?

93. Let no one, however, suppose that I wish to conceal the fact that some of my statements are repetitions of previous ones. For, when I came to consider the same subject, I preferred not to weary myself in the endeavour to express differently what has been already set forth satisfactorily. For, even if I were composing a show-speech, I should endeavour to avoid everything of the kind; 94. but, when giving advice to you, I should be a fool if I were to devote more attention to the style than to the subject-matter, and still more if, when I saw others adopting my arguments, I were to be the only one who did not make use of what I have said before. I might perhaps, therefore, avail myself of my own words, should there be pressing need for it, and should it appear suitable, but I would not appropriate the arguments of strangers, a thing I have never done even in times past.

95. Such, then, is the state of the case. In the next place, it appears my duty to speak of the means you will have at your disposal as compared with those they[1] had. The most important thing to observe is, that you will have the goodwill of the Hellenes if you will follow my advice concerning them, while they had incurred their bitterest hostility on account of the decarchies[2] established under the Lacedaemonians. For they thought that, if Cyrus and Clearchus succeeded, they would be still further enslaved, but that, if the King proved victorious, they would be freed from their present evils, which actually happened to them. 96. And further, you will find as many soldiers as you desire in readiness; for such is the condition of Hellas, that it is easier to get together a larger and better force from wanderers than from settled inhabitants. In those times, on the contrary, there were no hired forces, so that, when compelled to raise mercenaries from the towns, they spent

[1] Cyrus and Clearchus. [2] See "Panegyricus," § 110.

more on presents made to those who levied them than on the actual pay of the soldiers. 97. And lastly, should we desire to consider the matter, and institute a comparison between you who are now destined to conduct the expedition and to give advice on everything, and Clearchus, who was in command at that time, we shall find that he had never before been master of a force by sea or land, but that he only became famous from the disaster which overtook him on the mainland; 98. while you, on the contrary, have carried out so many glorious undertakings, that, if I were addressing others, it would be well to recount them, but, as my words are directed to you, I should rightly be looked upon as senseless and meddlesome if I were to give you an account of your own acts.

99. But it is right to say something about both the Kings, the one against whom I am advising you to undertake the expedition, as well as the one against whom Clearchus waged war, that you may learn the disposition and power of each. The father[1] of the present King defeated our city and that of the Lacedaemonians, while the present ruler has not yet become master of any of the armies that devastate his country. 100. In the next place, the former recovered the whole of Asia from the Hellenes by treaty,[2] while the latter, so far from ruling others, cannot even retain the mastery of the cities that have been surrendered to him; so that everyone would be in doubt whether to think that he has abandoned *them* from lack of energy, or that *they* have despised and contemned the power of the barbarians.

101. And who could hear of the condition of the country without being encouraged to make war upon him? For, although Egypt was in a state of revolt even at that time, the inhabitants were afraid that the King might some time or other undertake a campaign in person and overcome the

[1] Artaxerxes Mnemon (B.C. 405 to B.C. 362). His son was Artaxerxes Ochus (B.C. 362 to B.C. 339).

[2] The peace of Antalcidas.

difficulties of the position that were caused by the river[1] and all the other equipments of war; but the present ruler has relieved them from this apprehension. For, after having collected as large a force as he could and taken the field against them, he has departed from thence, not only defeated, but an object of ridicule, and with the reputation of being neither fit to rule nor to command an army. 102. As for Cyprus, Phoenicia, Cilicia, and the district from which they procured their fleet,[2] they were then subject to the King, but now some have revolted, while others are at war and in such straits that none of these peoples is of any service to him, while they will be of great use to you, if you desire to make war against him.

103. Further, Idrieus,[3] the most prosperous of the princes of the continent, ought to be more hostile to the cause of the King than those who are at war with him; he would else be the most apathetic of all men, if he did not desire the overthrow of this rule, which maltreated his brother,[4] made war against himself, and is all the time plotting against him, and desirous of becoming master of his person and of all his treasures. 104. In fear of this, he is now compelled to pay court to him, and to send him every year a large tribute of money; but if you were to cross over to the continent, he would see it with joy, thinking that you were come to assist him, and you will induce many of the other satraps to revolt, if you promise them freedom, and scatter this word broadcast in Asia, which, falling on the soil of Hellas, has broken up our empire as well as that of the Lacedaemonians.

105. I would endeavour to set forth in greater detail the mode of warfare by which you might most speedily overcome the King's forces, were I not afraid that some

[1] In Or. xi. 12 the Nile is called "the everlasting wall" of Egypt.

[2] Syria.

[3] Prince of Caria.

[4] Mausolus, who revolted from Persia in B.C. 362.

might blame me if I, who have never yet had anything to do with military matters, were to venture to give advice to you, who have accomplished the greatest achievements in war. I think, therefore, that I need say nothing further about this.

In regard to other matters, however, I think that your father, the founder of your kingdom, and the ancestor of your race[1]—if the former had the right, and the two last the power—would give you the same counsel as myself. 106. I take the policy they carried out as a proof of this. Your father was on friendly terms with all these states, to which I advise you to give your attention; and the founder of your empire, whose aspirations were higher than those of his own countrymen,[2] and who desired undivided authority, did not adopt the same course of action as others whose projects were equally ambitious. 107. While they endeavoured to gain this exalted position by causing strife, disturbance, and bloodshed in their cities, he left Hellas alone altogether and devoted himself to establishing his kingdom in Macedonia; for he knew that the Hellenes were not accustomed to put up with monarchies, while the rest were unable to order their life aright without such a form of government. 108. The result was that, owing to his peculiar views on these subjects, his rule was one of quite a different character from the rest; for he alone among the Hellenes claimed to rule over a people not of kindred race,[3] and alone was able to escape the dangers that beset monarchy. For we should find that, amongst the Hellenes, those who have managed to acquire such authority have not only been destroyed themselves, but that their race has been utterly blotted out from amongst mankind, while he not only passed his own life in happi-

[1] Amyntas, Caranus, and Heracles.

[2] Caranus, as well as Perdiccas, came from Argos.

[3] The Macedonians were partly a Thracian and partly an Illyrian stock.

ness and prosperity, but bequeathed to his children the same honours as he himself enjoyed.

109. As for Heracles, while others are ever singing the praises of his valour and recounting his labours, no one, either among poets or prose writers, will be found to have made any mention of his intellectual excellence. I, however, see in this a distinct and altogether untilled field of literature, no unimportant or unfruitful one, but full of praise and glorious deeds, and one that requires a man who would be able to speak worthily on such a theme. 110. Had I thought of it in my younger days, I could easily have shown that your ancestor was distinguished above all his predecessors by his wisdom, honourable ambition, and justice, rather than by his bodily strength; but when I approached the subject now, and saw how much there was to say, I blamed my present capabilities, feeling that the theme would require a speech twice the length of that which is now put before you. For these reasons I abandoned the rest, and selected one single act, which seemed connected with and suitable to what I have said before, and to be appropriate and duly proportioned to my present speech,

111. Now, when Heracles saw that Hellas was full of wars, seditions, and many other evils, he not only put an end to these and reconciled the different states, but showed posterity with whom and against whom they ought to carry on war. For, having undertaken an expedition against Troy, which at that time was the greatest power in Asia, he showed such superiority in generalship over all those who afterwards made war against that city, 112. that, whereas they, with all the forces of Hellas, with difficulty succeeded in taking it after a ten years' siege, he easily captured it by force in less than as many days, although he took the field with only a small force, and afterwards slew all the princes of the tribes who dwelt on the coast of either continent, whom he would never have

been able to destroy had he not overcome their might. After these achievements he set up the pillars of Heracles,[1] as they are called, a trophy of his victory over the barbarians, a memorial of his valour and perils in war, and the boundary of the land of Hellas.

113. I have spoken to you at some length on this subject, that you may know that in my speech I am exhorting you to such actions as your forefathers are seen to have selected as the noblest in carrying out their undertakings.[2] Now, all sensible men, setting before themselves the example of the noblest of mankind, should endeavour to become like him, and you above all it behoves to do so. For, as there is no necessity for you to use foreign examples, but you have one ready to hand in your own family, it is only natural that you should be stimulated by it and show an honourable ambition to make yourself like your ancestor. 114. I do not mean that you will be able to imitate all the acts of Heracles, for even some of the gods would be unable to do that; but, in intellectual character, love of mankind, and goodwill such as he showed towards the Hellenes, you might approach his aims. And, if you listen to my advice, it is possible for you to win such a reputation as you yourself might desire, 115. for it is easier for you to gain the fairest fame from your present position than, starting from that which you previously occupied,[3] to attain to the reputation you at present enjoy. Consider that I am exhorting you to an undertaking wherein you will take the field, not with barbarians against those whom you have no just cause to attack, but with Hellenes against those upon whom it becomes the descendants of Heracles to make war.

[1] Two rocks in the Straits of Gibraltar, one on the African (Abyla), the other on the Spanish coast (Calpe).

[2] Others render "by their deeds," *i.e.*, as their deeds show them to have done.

[3] Lit., "from what you acquired" or "received" on your accession to the throne.

116. And do not be surprised if, throughout my discourse, I endeavour to lead you to mildness, love of mankind, and good services towards the Hellenes; for I see that harshness is equally grievous to those who show it and to those who experience it, while mildness is in good repute, not only amongst mankind and all other living creatures, 117. but even amongst the gods, those who bestow blessings upon us are called Olympian,[1] while those who have control of calamities and punishments are called by more hateful names; and, while in honour of the former individuals and states have erected temples and altars, the latter are honoured neither by vows nor sacrifices, but we endeavour to avert their influence. 118. Bearing this in mind, you ought to accustom yourself to and to practise that whereby all men may have such an opinion of you even in a greater degree than at present. And those who desire a greater reputation than others should embrace such deeds in thought as are possible, and at the same time accord with their wish, and seek to carry them out, according as opportunities present them.[2]

119. You might learn from many instances that this is the manner in which you ought to act, but above all from the fortunes of Jason.[3] He, without having achieved anything like yourself, gained the highest renown, not from his deeds, but from his utterances; for he spoke as if he intended to cross over to the continent and to make war against the King. 120. Since Jason, then, increased his power to such an extent merely by words, what opinion must we think all will have of you, if you do this in reality, and endeavour, if possible, to destroy the whole kingdom, or, if not, to take away from it as much territory as possible, to separate from it Asia from-Cilicia-to-Sinope (as some call

[1] *i.e.*, dwellers on Mount Olympus (Zeus, Hera, Apollo), as distinguished from the gods of the nether world.

[2] "Them," *i.e.*, the deeds. Others render "present themselves."

[3] Jason of Pherae.

it), and in addition to build cities throughout the district, and to send thither as colonists those who are now wanderers from want of their daily bread, and who harass all whom they meet? 121. For, if we do not put a stop to their massing together by providing them with sufficient to live upon, they will imperceptibly become so numerous that they will be as great a cause of alarm to the Hellenes as the barbarians; we, however, pay no attention to them, and are ignorant of the existence of a cause of alarm that affects us all, and a danger that is growing up against us. 122. Therefore it is the duty of a man of high aspirations, and a friend of the Hellenes, and of one whose mind sees further than others, to make full use of the services of such men against the barbarians, and, having taken away from the latter the amount of territory mentioned just before, to free those who serve in a foreign land from the evils which they themselves are suffering, as well as those which they inflict upon others, to form communities out of them, and to make these the boundaries of Hellas, and to set them in front of us all as a bulwark. 123. For if you do this, you will not only make them happy, but will also insure the safety of us all. Even should you fail in this, at least you will easily secure the liberation of the cities of Asia. Whichever of these undertakings you may be able to carry out or even only attempt, you will assuredly gain greater reputation than the rest, and that deservedly, if you apply yourself earnestly to the task, and encourage the Hellenes to do the same. 124. For everyone would naturally feel surprise at the situation of affairs and contempt for us, if amongst the barbarians, whom we consider effeminate, inexperienced in war, and corrupted by luxury, men have arisen who aspired to rule Hellas, while none of the Hellenes has aimed so high 125. as to attempt to make us masters of Asia, but we have been so far left behind by them that, while they did not hesitate to commence hostilities against us first, we do not even venture to take

vengeance upon them for the evils we have suffered, but, although they acknowledge that in all their wars they possessed neither soldiers nor generals nor anything else of service for war, 126. but had to apply to us for all these, we have come so to desire to do ourselves harm that, when it is in our power to possess what is theirs without apprehension; we are fighting with one another about trifles, helping to subdue those who have revolted from the rule of Persia, and, without knowing it, sometimes assist our hereditary foes to destroy our own kinsmen.

127. For these reasons I think that it is to your interest, when everyone else is so cowardly minded, to put yourself at the head of the expedition against the King. And while it is the duty of the others, who are descendants of Heracles,[1] and are united by polity and laws, to love *that* state in which they happen to dwell, it behoves you, as one who has been released from individual obligations,[2] to look upon the whole of Hellas as your fatherland, in the same manner as the father of your race, and to be ready to face danger on its behalf as readily as on behalf of those who are your especial care.

128. Perhaps some of those who are fit to do nothing else may venture to blame me, because I have chosen to exhort you to undertake the campaign against the barbarians and the care of all the Hellenes, and have passed over my own city. 129. Now, if I were undertaking to address myself on these points to others rather than to my own native city, which has thrice freed Hellas, twice from the barbarians, and once[3] from the rule of Lacedaemon, I would

[1] The Spartan kings. See "Panegyricus," § 61.

[2] The word ἄφετος (lit. let loose) is applied to sacred animals (and also to human beings) who are allowed to wander at will by themselves, without custodian or protector. The meaning here is, that as Philip's ancestors resolved to found a kingdom *outside Hellas*, and thus to be free from any particular ties, so he himself is at liberty to look upon Hellas as a single whole, and need not attach himself to the interests of any particular city.

[3] At the battle of Cnidus.

allow that I was wrong; but, as it is, it will be seen that I have exhorted Athens before all other cities, with the greatest earnestness of which I was capable, to undertake the task, but, when I perceived that she thought less of what I said than of those who rave upon the platform, I left her alone, but, notwithstanding, did not abandon my efforts. 130. Wherefore all might fitly praise me because, as far as the powers I possess permitted me, I have persistently waged war against the barbarians, accused those who did not hold the same opinion as myself, and endeavoured to induce those, whom I hope will be best able to do so, to render some service to the Hellenes, and to deprive the barbarians of their present prosperity. 131. For this reason I now address my words to you, well aware that many will be jealous of them when uttered by me, but that all will rejoice alike at the same undertakings when accomplished by you. For, although no one has taken part in what I have proposed, everyone will think that he is entitled to a share in the advantages that will result from it.

132. Consider, again, that it is disgraceful to look on with indifference when Asia fares better than Europe, when the barbarians are more flourishing than the Hellenes, and further, when those who derive their rule from Cyrus, who was exposed by his mother on the public way, are addressed as the Great Kings, while the descendants of Heracles, whom his father raised to the gods for his virtue, are addressed by humbler titles than they. This must not be permitted, but must be entirely altered and done away with.

133. Be assured that I would never have attempted to persuade you to anything of the kind had I seen that the only result would be power and wealth; for I think that you have even now more than enough of these at your command, and that whosoever elects to undergo perils to win them or to lose his life in the attempt is most insatiable. 134. However, I am not speaking with reference

to the acquisition of these advantages, but in the belief that the greatest and most honourable reputation will accrue to you from what I say. And bear in mind that, although the body that we all possess is mortal, by means of commendation, praise, fame, and the memory that attends us with the course of time we partake of immortality, which we ought to strive after as far as we are able, and to endure anything to attain it. 135. You may see even the most respectable private individuals, who would risk their lives for nothing else, ready to die in battle in order to win honourable renown, and, generally, those who show themselves desirous of still greater honour than they enjoy, are commended by all, while those who exhibit an insatiable longing for anything else whatever are considered to be proportionately inferior and lacking in self-control. 136. The most important thing to notice is that, while our enemies often obtain possession of power and riches, the good will of mankind and the other honours mentioned above are bequeathed as an inheritance to none but our own posterity. I should therefore be ashamed if I did not for these reasons advocate this campaign and the hazard of war.

137. And you will best make up your mind on these points if you consider that not only does this speech exhort you, but also the example of your forefathers and the cowardice of the barbarians, as well as those men of the greatest renown who are looked upon as demigods[1] on account of their campaign against them, and, above all, the favourable moment, when you possess a larger force than any of the dwellers in Europe, and he, against whom you are going to make war, is more universally hated and despised than any of the former Kings.

138. I would have given much to be able to combine all the speeches I have delivered on this subject; for the

[1] Achilles and the heroes of the Trojan War, who fought against the Asiatics.

present one would then appear more worthy of its theme. However, you must give your attention to whatever in all of them has reference to and advocates this war; for by so doing you will best form your resolutions.

139. I am well aware that many of the Hellenes consider the King's forces to be invincible. Such would deservedly be regarded with astonishment if they think that these same forces, which have been overthrown by an ill-reared barbarian and collected with the object of enslaving them, cannot be broken up by a Hellene of great experience in warfare with the object of setting them free, especially as they know that in all things it is difficult to join, but easy to put asunder.

140. And bear in mind that those are honoured and respected above all others who are able both to govern a state and to command an army. Since, then, you see that, in a single city, those who possess these qualities are in great repute, what commendation ought you to expect will be bestowed upon you when you are seen to have distinguished yourself as a statesman by benefits conferred upon all the Hellenes, and to have subdued the barbarians by your generalship? 141. I think that this will be the furthest limit, beyond which none will ever be able to advance. For neither amongst the Hellenes will so great an undertaking be seen as that of reconciling all of us after so many wars, nor is it likely that so large a force will ever again be got together for the barbarians, if you destroy their present force. 142. Thus, no one of those who come after us, even though distinguished by his talents above the rest, will be able to carry out anything of the kind. And further, I can show that the deeds of those who lived before us at any rate have been surpassed by what you have already achieved, not by means of trickeries, but in a straightforward manner; for, seeing that you have subdued more nations than anyone else has captured cities, it would be easy for me to show, by comparing you

with each of them, that you have accomplished greater things than they. 143. However, I have preferred to avoid this mode of representation[1] for two reasons: partly on account of those who make an unseasonable use of it, and partly because I do not desire to represent those who are looked upon as demigods as inferior to the men of the present day.

144. Further (to make mention of the events of olden times), bear in mind that the wealth of Tantalus, the rule of Pelops, and the might of Eurystheus would not be praised by any, whether an inventor of words[2] or a poet, while all, next to the surpassing prowess of Heracles and the excellence of Theseus, would glorify those who took the field against Troy and those who showed themselves like them. 145. And we know that the most renowned and the bravest amongst them had their dominion in little towns and islands, but that notwithstanding they have left behind them a reputation equal to that of the gods and are held in honour amongst all; for it is not those who have won the greatest power for themselves, but those who have brought the greatest blessings upon the Hellenes that are universally beloved.

146. Not only, however, in their case, but in the case of all alike you will see that men hold this opinion; for no one would praise even our city, either because she has been mistress of the sea, or because she has collected such large sums of money[3] from the allies and deposited it in the Acropolis, or again, because she had power over many cities, to dismantle some, to aggrandize others, and to treat others as she wished; 147. for all this it was in her power to do; but, in consequence of this, many charges have been brought against her, while on account of the battle of Marathon and the naval engagement at Salamis, and

[1] *i.e.*, instituting a comparison between Philip and the demigods.
[2] *i.e.*, a sophist, or professed rhetorician.
[3] Twelve hundred talents (about £300,000) yearly.

especially because the Athenians abandoned their city to save Hellas, she is eulogized by all. The same opinion is also held concerning the Lacedaemonians; 148. for in their case their defeat at Thermopylae is more admired than their other victories, and the trophy erected over them by the barbarians[1] is an object of esteem and frequent visits, while those set up by the Lacedaemonians over others, far from being commended, are regarded with displeasure; for the former is considered to be a sign of valour, the latter of a desire for self-aggrandizement.

149. If, in the course of your examination and consideration of the matter, anything of what I have said should appear to be somewhat feeble or inadequate, lay the blame upon my age, for which all might fairly make excuse; but if this discourse resembles those previously circulated, you must not think that my old age has discovered it, but that the Deity has prompted it, not out of regard for myself, but out of care for Hellas, and from a desire to set it free from its present evils, and to invest you with greater renown than you at present enjoy. 150. And I think you know in what manner the gods conduct the affairs of men. For they do not of their own act bestow the blessings or inflict the evils that befall them, but inspire all of us with such thoughts that each falls to our lot by means of one another. 151. For instance, they have assigned to me discourses, while to you they allot the sphere of action, considering that you would best undertake the control of it, and that my discourses would be least wearisome to the audience. But I think that even your earlier undertakings would never have acquired such importance had not one of the gods assisted you to carry them out, 152. not in order that you might be con-

[1] *i.e.*, the pillars bearing an inscription set up by the Greeks over the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae. The Persians can only be said to have "erected the trophy" in so far as the Spartans fell fighting against them.

stantly at war only with the barbarians who inhabit Europe, but that, having practised upon them, gained experience, and come to know what manner of man you are, you might be eager for the course I have advocated. It is a disgrace to stay behind when Fortune honourably leads the way, and not to show yourself ready to advance in whatever direction she wishes.

153. I think that, while you ought to honour all those who speak well of what you have done, you ought to consider that the most honourable eulogy is that of those who consider your talents worthy of still greater deeds than those which you have already accomplished, great as they are, and who express themselves grateful to you, not only in the present, but who will cause posterity to admire your acts beyond those of all who have lived in former times. Although there are many things of this kind that I desire to say, I am unable to do so; the reason of this I have already stated more often than is necessary.

154. It remains to summarize what I have said before, that, in as few words as possible, you may understand the chief point of my advice. I say that you ought to be the benefactor of the Hellenes, the king of Macedonia, and the ruler over as many barbarians as possible. If you succeed in this, all will be grateful to you, the Hellenes by reason of advantages enjoyed, the Macedonians, if you govern them like a king and not like a despot, and the rest of mankind, if they are freed by you from barbarian sway and gain the protection of Hellas. 155. How far my composition is duly proportioned [1] and accurate in expression, I may reasonably expect to learn from you my hearers; but that no one could give you advice that is better than this, or more adapted to present circumstances, of that I feel convinced.

[1] Others render "suited to the present emergency."

ARCHIDAMUS.

As in the Plataicus, so in the Archidamus, a feeling of hatred towards Thebes is prominent. The friendship which had existed between Athens and Thebes was turned to apprehension owing to the growing power of the latter under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and a disinclination to see Sparta utterly crushed, as seemed likely after the battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371). At the beginning of the year B.C. 366, Sparta, Athens, Corinth, Epidaurus and Phlius—the latter being the more trusty supporters of Sparta—were at war with Thebes. The Corinthians, however, became tired of the struggle, and sent ambassadors to Thebes to discuss the question of peace. As an indispensable condition of negotiations the Thebans demanded the recognition of the independence of Messene, which had been founded by Epaminondas, and was a standing menace to Sparta. At a meeting held at the latter city the Spartans refused to assent to this condition; negotiations were consequently broken off, and Sparta and Thebes remained in a state of war with one another. The Corinthians and the smaller states, however, came to terms and concluded peace.

The speech, which belongs to the "symbouleutic" or "deliberative class," is supposed to have been spoken by Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, before he was king, in the Spartan popular assembly; it is an exhortation to the Spartans to hold out in the matter of the recognition of the independence of Messene. The date at which it was written may be fixed as B.C. 366,[1] when Isocrates was in his seventy-first year. Different opinions are held concerning it. According to some it was actually sent by Isocrates to Archidamus, but not for delivery; while others look upon it merely as a rhetorical exercise, and a model for the orator's pupils. The speech was highly commended by ancient writers.

After apologizing for coming forward to speak while he is still so young, on the ground that the subject is one of the greatest

[1] Others say that it was not written until after B.C. 356, as it is not mentioned in the letter sent to Archidamus by Isocrates in that year.

importance, Archidamus proceeds to combat the proposals for peace and the emancipation of Messene, on the score of justice, length of occupancy, the superiority of justice to expediency, and the possibility of a more favourable future in store for Sparta. He advocates war, since all have something better to expect from it; in the event of reverses, he advises the Spartans to send away the women and children, and to carry on war in such a manner as to insure the respect of their foes and victory in the end, declaring that the honour of Sparta, her former pre-eminence in Hellas, and the respect in which she is held at Olympia, render war incumbent upon them; and concludes by exhorting them to behave in a manner worthy of the old name of Sparta, and to exchange an imperishable renown for a perishable body.

ARCHIDAMUS.

1. Perhaps some of you are surprised that I, who have until now steadfastly adhered to the established usages of the city, and more persistently, I consider, than any of my contemporaries, have so greatly changed, that I, a younger man, have come forward to give advice upon matters about which older men shrink from speaking. 2. If anyone of those who are accustomed to address you in public had spoken in a manner worthy of the state, I should have held my tongue; but as it is, since I see that some support the dictates of our enemies—that others do not oppose them heartily—while others have kept completely silent, I rise to declare my opinion on these matters; for I think it would be disgraceful if, while showing due regard for my proper position in life, I were to look on with indifference when the state voted for measures unworthy of it. 3. Further, I am of opinion that, although it is fitting that men of my age should preserve silence on other matters, at any rate in discussing the question of making war or not, those should before all others offer advice who will have to bear the largest share of its dangers, especially as the formation of a right judgment on what is necessary is open to all of us.[1] 4. For if it were conclusively shown that the older men know what is best about every-

[1] *i.e.*, no matter what our age may be. The Lacedaemonians were not expected to address the people when under thirty years of age, but special circumstances might justify a departure from the general rule.

thing, and that the younger have no correct opinion even upon any one single matter, it would be proper to debar us from offering advice ; but, since it is not by length of years that we are distinguished from one another in regard to soundness of judgment, but by our natural gifts and the attention bestowed upon their cultivation, surely it is right that you should make trial of both periods of life, in order that you may have it in your power to select what is most useful out of all that is said. 5. I am surprised at those who, while they regard it as fitting that we should captain triremes and command armies (in the case of which bad management would involve the state in many and grievous calamities), consider that we ought not to state our opinion of matters upon which you are about to make a decision ; for in such cases, if we prove correct, we shall benefit you all, but if, on the other hand, we fail to secure your assent, while we ourselves perhaps shall appear to be less able, we shall inflict no injury upon the common weal. 6. It is not, however, owing to any desire of speaking, or because I have made preparations to order my life differently in any respect from what I have done in the past, that I have spoken thus about these matters, but because I wish to exhort you not to reject any of the different periods of life, but, in each and all of them, to endeavour to find out whether anyone is able to offer any sound advice in regard to present circumstances. 7. For, ever since we have inhabited this city, never has a danger or a war come upon us about matters of such great importance as those upon which we are now assembled to deliberate. In former times the object of our struggles was[1] to gain the mastery over others, —but now, to escape carrying out the dictates of others ourselves. This is a mark of freedom, for the preservation of which no danger is too great to be endured, not only by us, but by all others, if they be not of an utterly cowardly

[1] Benseler's rendering is "we debated."

disposition, but even in a slight degree lay claim to bravery. 8. I, for my part, if I may mention what particularly concerns myself,[1] would rather die at once, before doing what is dictated to me, than live many years longer than the allotted span of life,[2] after having voted my approval of the orders[3] of the Thebans. For I should be ashamed if I, a descendant of Heracles,[4] while my father is on the throne, and I myself am expected[5] to obtain this exalted position, were to permit, so far as it is in my power to prevent it, the land which our fathers bequeathed to us to be in the possession of our vassals.[6] 9. Further, I think you ought to hold the same opinion as myself, and to bear in mind that, although up to the present day we seem to have been unfortunate in our contest with the Thebans, and to have been overcome in our persons through the fault of an incompetent general,[7] yet still even now we keep our spirits unbroken; 10. and further that, if through fear of the dangers that are coming upon us, we abandon any of our possessions, we shall confirm the arrogance of the Thebans and erect over ourselves a trophy far more imposing and at the same time more conspicuous than that raised at

[1] Perhaps "my own personal opinion."

[2] Others take the words as specially referring to Archidamus: "the span of life allotted to myself."

[3] The speaker, by constantly using words like "orders," "demands" of the Thebans, endeavours to stir up the feelings of his audience against them.

[4] The Spartan kings claimed descent from Heracles, see "Panegyricus," § 62.

[5] Others render "expect, hope to." He succeeded his father, Agesilaus, on his death in B.C. 361.

[6] After the subjugation of Messene (B. C. 668), the Lacedaemonians reduced the inhabitants to the position of Helots (the Spartan serfs). Nothing further is heard of them until the restoration of their independence by Epaminondas (B.C. 369).

[7] The reference is to Cleombrotus, the Spartan king, to whom the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at the battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371) was in great measure due.

Leuctra. For the one will be regarded as a triumph gained over our misfortune, the other as a triumph over our judgment. Under these circumstances, let no one persuade you to involve the state in such disgrace.

11. The allies,[1] however, have been too eager in recommending you to give up Messene and conclude peace. Against these you might justly feel far greater resentment than against those who originally[2] revolted from you. For the latter, having abandoned your friendship, have ruined their own states, plunging them into party struggles, bloodshed, and vicious forms of government,[3] while the former have come to do us an injury. 12. For they are trying to persuade you to throw away in a moment the renown which our ancestors won during the course of seven hundred years[4] in the midst of numerous dangers and bequeathed to us, a misfortune more humiliating and terrible for Lacedaemon than any they could ever devise. 13. They have, moreover, reached such a height of selfishness and have laid us open[5] to such a charge of cowardice, that, although they have often expected us to wage war in defence of their country,[6] they do not consider that we ought to run any risk on behalf of Messene, but, in order that they themselves may enjoy the benefits of their own territory in safety, they are endeavouring to make you believe that we ought to withdraw from what belongs to us in favour of our enemies, and in addition threaten that, if we do not agree to this, they will conclude peace on their own account. 14. However, I do not think that the risk we

[1] Especially the Corinthians, Phliasians, and Epidaurians.

[2] Especially the Argives and Arcadians.

[3] *i.e.*, democracies.

[4] From B.C. 1104, when Peloponnesus was conquered by the Dorians under the leadership of the Heraclidae, to B.C. 366.

[5] *i.e.*, we should prove ourselves cowards if we listened to them, and yielded in the matter of Messene.

[6] As in their war against Corcyra, which led to the Peloponnesian war.

shall run without their alliance will be more difficult to face, but rather more honourable, more distinguished, and more renowned among all men; for it is in accordance with all the other acts of the city to endeavour to save ourselves and to overcome our enemies, not by the aid of others but by our own exertions. 15. I have never been fond of long speeches;[1] but, although I have always considered that those who waste time over them are less prompt in action, at the present moment there is nothing I would reckon of greater value than to be able to discuss what lies before us in the manner I desire. For, in the present conjuncture, I hope by this means to be instrumental in rendering the greatest service to the state.

16. In the first place, then, I think I ought to put before you in what manner we gained possession of Messene, and how it was that you came to settle in Peloponnesus, being, as you were, in olden times Dorians. For this reason I will go back still further, that you may know why it is that they are endeavouring to deprive you of the territory which is your possession by right no less than the rest of Lacedaemon.

17. Now, when Heracles departed this life, and exchanged mortality for immortality, his sons at first were forced to wander in the midst of perils owing to the power of their enemies,[2] and after the death of Eurystheus settled amongst the Dorians.[3] In the third generation[4] they came to Delphi,

[1] An allusion to the fondness of the Spartans for brevity (cp. our "laconic."

[2] According to the legend, the sons of Heracles were pursued by Eurystheus from Argos to Trachis, in Thessaly, and finally came as suppliants to Athens.

[3] Heracles assisted Aegimius (the Dorian hero and law-giver) against the Lapithae, in return for which he was rewarded with a third of the Dorian kingdom (Thirlwall, i. 103).

[4] The first commences with Hyllus and his son Cleodaeus: the second with Aristomachus: the third with Aristodemus, Temenus, and Cresphontes.

being desirous of consulting the oracle[1] about certain matters. The god gave no answer to their questions, but bade them go to the land of their fathers. 18. Reflecting upon the response of the oracle, they came to the conclusion that Argos belonged to them by right of kinship[2] —for, after the death of Eurystheus,[3] they had been left sole survivors of the Persidae—and that Lacedaemon was theirs by right of gift; for Tyndareus,[4] who was driven

[1] In the first generation, "an ambiguous oracle encouraged the Heraclidae, who had taken refuge in Attica, to believe that, after they had reaped their third harvest, they should find a prosperous passage through the Isthmus into the land of their fathers . . . . the enterprise proved unsuccessful, Hyllus being slain in single combat by Echemus, king of Tegea, and the Heraclidae were bound by an agreement to abandon their enterprise for one hundred years. Yet both Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, and his grandson Aristomachus, renewed his attempt with no better fortune. After Aristomachus had fallen in battle, the ambiguous oracle was explained to his sons Aristodemus, Temenus, and Cresphontes: and they were assured that the time, the third generation [not the third harvest] had now come, when they should accomplish their return; not, however, as they had expected, over the guarded isthmus, but across the mouth of the western gulf, where the opposite shores are parted by a channel only a few furlongs broad. Thus encouraged, they crossed the straits, vanquished Tisamenus, the son of Orestes," and divided the fairest portions of Peloponnesus among them (Thirlwall, i. 255, 256). It is to be observed that Isocrates mentions only *one* oracular response and that of different import to the above.

[2] Alcmene, the mother of Heracles, was the daughter of Electryon, son of Perseus. Perseus had accidentally slain his grandfather, Acrisius, King of Argos: in consequence of this, being unwilling to fill the throne, although he had inherited it, he exchanged his patrimony for that of Megapenthes, son of Proetus (the brother and rival of Acrisius, who had acquired the eastern portion of the territory of Argos, and, with the aid of the Cyclopes, built the walls of Tiryns) and founded a new city, Mycenae, in the neighbourhood of Tiryns.

[3] Eurystheus, King of Mycenae, was the son of Sthenelus, another of the sons of Perseus: see "Panegyricus," § 56.

[4] Tyndareus, the father of Helen, and King of Lacedaemon, had

from his throne, on being restored to it by Heracles, after Castor and Polydeuces [1] had disappeared from the world of men, made him a present of the land in return for this service, and by reason of his relationship to his sons.[2] 19. Further, they considered that Messene was theirs as the prize of war: for Heracles, after he had been robbed of the cattle from Erythea by Neleus and his sons (except Nestor), took Messene by force of arms, and slew the wrongdoers, but handed over the city to Nestor, considering him to be well-disposed towards him, because, although the youngest, he had taken no part in the misdeeds of his brothers.[3] 20. Accordingly, considering that this was the meaning of the oracle, they took your forefathers with them, and having assembled an army, bestowed their own land [4] on those who followed them to the field [5] as their common

been driven from his kingdom by his half-brother Hippocöon. The latter, together with his 20 sons, was afterwards slain by Heracles, and Tyndareus restored.

[1] Sons of Zeus and Leda, the wife of Tyndareus. After Castor had been slain in battle against the Apharidae in Messene, they disappeared from the earth, and were placed by Zeus among the stars under the name of the Twins, a beacon for distressed sailors (see Or. x. § 61).

[2] Heracles being really the son of Zeus (not of Amphitryon) by Alcmena, and Castor and Pollux sons of Zeus (not of Tyndareus) by Leda.

[3] One of the labours imposed upon Heracles by Eurystheus was to fetch the cattle of the triple-bodied monster Geryon, from Erythea, a small island in the bay of Cadiz (now called Trocadero). Other reasons given for the murder of Neleus and his sons are: that they refused to admit Heracles within the walls of Pylos, whither he came seeking purification, after having slain Iphitus: that they had murdered his wife and children; that they had murdered his friend Ophitus. Nestor escaped, because he was at the time absent in Gerene; according to another account, he was in Pylos at the time, but his life was spared because he had endeavoured to procure the admission of Heracles into the city.

[4] Argos, Messene, and Lacedaemon.

[5] *i.e.*, the old Dorians, led by the Heraclidae.

property, and received from them the regal power as their own particular share; and, having exchanged mutual guarantees of good faith in ratification, they started on the expedition. 21. There is no need to waste time in speaking of the dangers which befell them on their march, and other events which have nothing to do with present circumstances; but, when they had overcome in war the inhabitants of the above-mentioned countries, they divided their kingdoms into three parts.[1] Now, up to the present day you have abided by the oaths and agreements which you concluded with our forefathers. 22. Wherefore, as in the past you fared better than the rest, so in the time to come you may expect, if you behave in like manner, that you will be better off than now. The Messenians, on the other hand, reached such a pitch of impiety, that they plotted against and slew Cresphontes,[2] the founder[3] of the city

[1] "After the death or retreat of Tisamenus [ruler over Argos, Lacedaemon, and Mycenae], the poetical legend of the Dorian conquest represents the Heraclidae as only busied with the partition of his kingdom. Aristodemus, who had not lived to enter Peloponnesus, had left twin sons, Procles and Eurysthenes, who succeeded to his claim of an equal share with Temenus and Cresphontes. Three altars were erected, and on each a sacrifice was made to the divine father of Heracles. Then three lots were cast into an urn filled with water. It had been agreed that the lots were to be stones, and that the first drawn should give possession of Argos, the second of Lacedaemon, and the third of Messene. But Cresphontes, to secure the fairest portion, threw a clod of earth into the water, which, being dissolved, remained at the bottom of the vessel, while the lots of his competitors were drawn" (Thirlwall, i. 261).

[2] The favour he showed to the lower class of his subjects—by which we are probably to understand the old Messenians—is said to have provoked a conspiracy among the rich (the Dorian oligarchy) by which he was cut off with his whole family, except one son.

[3] The Greek word *οἰκιστὴς* denotes one who leads out a colony to a new settlement, or introduces a new government or constitution.

and master of the country, a descendant of Heracles, who had been their leader. 23. His sons,[1] however, escaped from their perils and implored the protection of this city, begging us to help them to succour the dead and offering us the land. After you had inquired of the god and he had commanded you to accept it and to avenge those who had been wronged, you besieged and took the city of the Messenians, and so gained possession of the country. 24. In regard to our original claims, I have not given a thoroughly detailed account—the present crisis does not allow me to relate legends—but it was necessary to say something about them with greater brevity than clearness; not but what I think it is thereby rendered evident to all, that we have acquired the country which is admitted to be ours in the same way as that of which the possession is disputed. For we inherit the former by the gift of the Heraclidae, the oracular response of the god, and as conquerors of its possessors; the latter we have received from the same people in the same manner, and after having made use of the responses of the same oracle. 25. If, however, we are in such a frame of mind that we raise no objection to anything whatever, not even though they order us to abandon Sparta itself, it is idle to be anxious about Messene; but if, on the contrary, none of you would think fit to live if deprived of his fatherland, it is meet that you should hold the same opinion concerning that city as well; for we can bring forward the same pleas in justification of our claim and the same arguments in regard to

[1] The ordinary accounts mention only *one* son, Aepytus, who escaped into the dominions of his grandfather Cypselus, who was King of Arcadia, or some Arcadian canton. When he grew up, with the assistance of other Heraclid kings, he recovered his hereditary throne, and punished the murderers of his father. No other ancient authorities mention the cession of the country and sovereignty to the Spartans as the price of their assistance. The capture of Ithome did not actually take place until B.C. 724, when the First Messenian War ended.

both. 26. Further, you cannot be unaware that possessions, both private and public, if a long time has elapsed, are considered by all to be confirmed and hereditary.[1] Now, we captured Messene before the Persians gained possession of their kingdom and became masters of the continent,[2] and also before the greater number of the Hellenic cities had been founded. 27. And, although we have this in our favour to start with, they[3] would hand over Asia again to the barbarian as his ancestral inheritance, although he has not yet held sway over it two hundred years,[4] and would rob us of Messene, although we have been in possession of it for twice that length of time.[5] Having utterly destroyed Thespiae and Plataea as it were but yesterday,[6] they would restore Messene after four hundred years, in both cases acting contrary to the oaths

[1] They are considered to belong to the owners by right of prescription, and are capable of being transmitted from generation to generation.

[2] The date of accession of Cyrus to the throne of Persia is given as B.C. 559.

[3] *i.e.*, the Thebans; the reference is to the embassy of Pelopidas to Artaxerxes, with the object of securing a peace that would establish the supremacy of Thebes. The older reading was *ἀπεδίδοσαν* (instead of the present *ἀποδιδόασι*) in which case the subject will be "the Hellenes" and the reference to the peace of Antalcidas.

[4] 193 years, from B.C. 559 to B.C. 366.

[5] As Messenia was not finally subjugated until B.C. 724, the actual number of years would appear to be only 358, which can hardly be explained as a substitute for 400 in round numbers. Various attempts have been made to explain the chronology. Possibly Isocrates followed a different account; and, in any case, the whole narrative of the two first Messenian wars is in an unsatisfactory condition. Almost the only authority is the narrative of Pausanias (2nd century, A.D.) whose information was derived mainly from Myron of Priene, and from the poet Rhianus, a Cretan, who both probably lived after the time of Alexander the Great.

[6] In B.C. 374.

and agreements.[1] 28. If indeed they were for bringing back those who are truly Messenians, although they would be acting contrary to right, yet they would be wronging us with a more plausible excuse; but as it is, they are settling the Helots[2] on our borders, so that the hardest thing of all is,—not that we shall be deprived of the country contrary to justice, but that we shall see with our own eyes our vassals in possession of it.

29. Further, you will understand still more clearly from what follows that, as we are now subjected to fearful injustice, so then we occupied Messene in accordance with right. For, as many perils had beset us, we were compelled on several previous occasions to conclude peace, while in a far worse position than our enemies; but, although the agreements were made at such critical periods, when it was impossible to aim at our own aggrandizement, 30. yet, while disputes arose on many other points, in regard to Messene neither the Great King nor Athens ever yet charged us with being unjustly in possession of it. And where could we find a more accurate decision of what is right than that which has been recognised by our enemies, and was made at a time when we were in sore distress?

31. The oracle, then, which all would allow to be a most ancient, universally recognised and most trustworthy authority, not only decided that Messene belonged to us at the time when it bade us accept the gift, when the sons of Cresphontes offered it to us, and assist the wronged, but also, when the war lasted for a long time, and both parties sent to Delphi—they begging for safety, we asking how we might most speedily become masters of the city—the oracle vouchsafed no answer to them as making an unjust request, while it both pointed out to us the sacrifices which

[1] Referring to the so-called peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 387), for the terms of which see "Panegyricus," § 115.

[2] *i.e.*, the Messenians, who had been reduced to the position of Helots.

it was necessary to offer and those from whom we should ask assistance.[1] 32. What weightier and clearer testimony could one produce than this? For it is evident that, in the first place, we received the land from its proper owners—there is nothing to prevent my giving a brief account of this again—and, in the second place, took possession of it by right of war, in which manner most states in those times were founded; and, further, that we drove out those who had acted impiously towards the sons of Heracles, and who would have been deservedly banished from the whole inhabited world, and, in addition to this, were in possession of it by right of length of occupation, and in accordance with the decision of our enemies and the oracles of the god. 33. Any single one of these reasons is sufficient to weaken the force of the arguments of those who have the audacity to accuse us, either of being unwilling to make peace at the present time from motives of avarice, or of having then made war against the Messenians because we coveted what belonged to others. In regard to our acquisition of it I might perhaps say more than this; however, I think that what has been already stated is sufficient.

34. Those who recommend you to make peace assert that men of sense ought not to hold the same view of things in prosperity and adversity, but that they should ever take counsel in view of present conditions, and adapt themselves to circumstances, not aiming higher than their strength permits them, and in such emergencies not looking after their rights, but after their interests. 35. While in regard to everything else I agree with them, I

[1] During the Second Messenian War (B.C. 685-668), the Spartans, alarmed by the exploits of Aristomenes, sent to Delphi for advice. The god bade them apply to Athens for a leader. The Athenians sent them Tyrtaeus, a lame man and a schoolmaster, who roused their courage by his warlike songs, to which is mainly ascribed the final success of the Spartan arms. Nothing further is known of the "sacrifices" here mentioned.

would never be convinced by anyone who asserted that it was right to regard anything as more important than justice. For I see that for the sake of this the laws have been established, and that on this good men and true pride themselves, and that on behalf of this well-constituted cities put forth their best efforts; 36. further, that all previous wars have been decided not in accordance with might but in accordance with right, and that, generally speaking, the life of mankind is ruined by baseness, but preserved by uprightness; wherefore it is not those who are about to encounter danger on behalf of what is right who should be dispirited, but much rather those who behave insolently [1] and do not know how to bear their good fortune with moderation. 37. Further, the following point also must be considered. We are now all agreed in our opinion of what is right, but hold opposite views as to what is expedient. Now, when two good things are set before us, the one evident, the other unknown, you would behave ridiculously, if you were to reject the acknowledged good, and decide to choose that which is the subject of doubt, especially when your choice is of such great importance. 38. For in what I have said this is embodied, that you should neither give up anything of what belongs to you nor involve the city in any disgrace, but, facing danger on behalf of your rights, should feel confident that you will fight better than your foes; but what the others [2] say amounts to this, that you ought at once to retire from Messene, and, having first committed this wrong against yourselves, should fail in securing your interests and rights, and everything else to which you are looking forward. 39. For it is not even yet evident that, if we do as we are bidden, we shall henceforth enjoy a lasting peace. For I imagine you are not ignorant that all are accustomed to negotiate with those who are

[1] In allusion to the Thebans.

[2] Those of your fellow-countrymen who recommend you to make peace at any price.

standing up in defence of their rights, but are ever prone to impose further conditions beyond what they originally contemplated upon those who too readily do as they are bidden; whence it happens that those who are of a warlike disposition obtain better terms of peace than those who too easily make concessions. 40. However, that I may not appear to waste too much time on these points, I will leave all such matters and direct myself at once to the simplest proofs. If none of those who have been unfortunate have ever yet recovered themselves, or overcome their enemies, neither is it reasonable for us to hope that we shall gain the day if we make war. But if, on the contrary, it has often happened that those who were possessed of greater strength have been worsted by the weaker, and that besiegers have been utterly overthrown by those who have been blockaded, what wonder if the present state of affairs were to undergo some change?

41. In regard to our own state I have nothing of this kind to allege; for in the times before us none stronger than ourselves have ever yet invaded this land; but in the case of others one might produce many instances, and above all in the case of the state of the Athenians. 42. For we shall find that they, in consequence of the mandates they imposed upon the rest, incurred odium amongst the Hellenes, but, in consequence of having repulsed the attacks of the aggressors, gained a good reputation amongst all mankind. If I were to recount the perils which they encountered of old against the Amazons, Thracians, or Peloponnesians [1] who invaded their land with Eurystheus, I should perhaps be considered to be telling an old story too far remote from the present; but who is there who does not know how great were their sufferings, and how great the good fortune they attained to in the Persian war? 43. For they alone of the dwellers outside Peloponnesus, when they saw that the

[1] See the "Panegyricus," §§ 56, 58, 60, 68, 70.

might of the barbarians was irresistible, did not condescend to deliberate about the orders dictated to them, but straightway elected to look on and see their city laid waste rather than reduced to a state of slavery. But, after they had left their country,[1] and, considering freedom to be their fatherland, had shared our dangers, they experienced so great a change of fortune, that, after having been deprived for a few days of what belonged to them, they were for a long time masters of what belonged to others.

44. But not only in the case of this city would it be possible for anyone to show that boldness in repelling the enemy leads to many advantages, but in like manner Dionysius the tyrant, when besieged by the Carthaginians, and when no glimpse of safety was visible (since he was hard pressed by the war and his citizens were ill-affected towards him), was on the point of sailing away; 45. but, on one of his intimate friends venturing to say that absolute power was a noble shroud,[2] he was smitten with shame at his intention, and, having taken in hand again the prosecution of the war, destroyed many tens of thousands of the Carthaginians, established his rule over his citizens on a firmer footing, gained far greater power than he had ever enjoyed before, and ended his life while still absolute ruler,[3] leaving his son in the enjoyment of the same honour and power as he had himself possessed.

46. In like manner did Amyntas,[4] king of the Macedonians, behave. For after he had been defeated in battle by the barbarians[5] who dwelt on his borders and had lost the whole of Macedonia, he at first was minded to abandon the country and to save his life, but, having heard someone

[1] See the "Panegyricus," § 96.

[2] That it was a glorious thing to die as an absolute monarch.

[3] His reign lasted from B.C. 405 to B.C. 367, when he was succeeded by his son, Dionysius the Younger.

[4] Father of Philip: he reigned from B.C. 394 to B.C. 370.

[5] The Illyrians.

speak in terms of approval of the expression made use of to Dionysius, he changed his mind in the same manner, and, having occupied a small outpost and from thence [1] summoned aid, within three months he regained possession of the whole of Macedonia, and, remaining on the throne for the rest of his days, died at last from old age.

47. But we should be weary, speakers and hearers alike, if we were to investigate all similar occurrences; just as, if we were to mention what happened in regard to Thebes, we should indeed feel annoyed at the past, but should entertain better hopes in regard to the future. For, after they had the courage to withstand our invasions and threats, fortune so changed their position, that they, who were at all other times in subjection to us, now claim to dictate to us.

48. If therefore anyone, seeing that such great changes have taken place before, is of opinion that they will not again take place in our case,[2] he is exceedingly foolish; on the contrary, we must be steadfast in view of the present, and of good courage in regard to the future, in the knowledge that states repair such misfortunes by sound government and experience in war. And in regard to these, no one would venture to dispute that we have experience beyond all others, and that we alone enjoy a constitution such as it should be.[3] Since we possess both these advantages, we cannot fail to succeed better than those who have not paid much attention to either.

49. Some, however, speak against war and dilate upon its uncertainty, bringing forward many instances in proof of what they say, and especially what has happened in our own case, and express their surprise that any think fit to put their trust in a thing so difficult to estimate and so perilous. But I know that, while many have obtained great prosperity

[1] From the outpost; others render, "from hence," *i.e.*, from the Lacedaemonians.

[2] Others render, "in our own times."

[3] Isocrates expresses the same opinion in Or. iii. § 24.

through war, many have been deprived of that which they already enjoyed [through peace]; 50. for nothing of this kind is absolutely either good or bad, but the result of situations and opportunities inevitably corresponds with the manner in which one makes use of them. Those who are prosperous should desire peace; for in this condition a man might maintain his present position for the longest time: those who are unfortunate should, on the contrary, turn their thoughts to war; for, as a consequence of the confusion and desire for change that it creates, they would more speedily meet with a change of fortune. 51. In our case, I am afraid we may be shown to be acting in a manner contrary to this: for, when it was in our power to live a life of ease, we waged more wars than was necessary, but now that we have become obliged to face danger, we are eager for peace and deliberate about safety. And yet those who wish to be free ought to avoid agreements in accordance with dictated conditions[1] as akin to slavery, and only to come to terms when they have either gained the upper hand over their foes, or have established their own power on a level with that of the enemy, since the kind of peace that each will enjoy will always correspond with the circumstances under which they finish the war.

52. Bearing this in mind, you ought not hastily to rush into disgraceful agreements, nor to show that you deliberate with less carefulness on behalf of your country than of anything else. Recall to your minds that, in the past, whenever a single Lacedaemonian came to the assistance of any one of the allied cities when undergoing siege, it would be agreed by all that it was owing to him that they were saved. One could hear of most of these men from the older amongst us; I too, however, can mention the most famous. 53. Pedaritus[2] set sail for Chios and saved the

[1] In this case the recognition of the independence of Messene.

[2] The Spartan harmost, or military governor of the island of Chios; he was defeated and slain in an engagement against the

city; Brasidas,[1] having thrown himself into Amphipolis and gathered round him a handful of the besieged as his supporters, fought and overcame the besiegers, who were many in number; and Gylippus,[2] having set out to assist the Syracusans, not only saved them, but also captured the entire force that ruled them both on land and sea. 54. And yet is it aught but disgraceful that, whereas at that time each individual among us was able by himself to protect foreign cities, now all of us together are neither able nor even attempt to preserve our own territory? and that, after having filled Europe and Asia with trophies of victory when fighting for others,[3] on behalf of our country thus openly insulted we are not seen to have fought even a single battle worth mentioning, 55. but, while other cities have sustained the most desperate sieges in defence of our supremacy, we ourselves do not consider that we ought to suffer even slight hardship to avoid being compelled to act in any way contrary to our rights,—but are even now seen rearing teams of horses that eat their heads off, and, as if we were reduced to the direst straits and without means for our daily support, make peace accordingly? 56. But it would be the height of shame for us, who bear the reputation of being the

Athenians (B.C. 411), after having successfully resisted them in the previous year.

[1] In the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 422), the Athenian Cleon laid siege to Amphipolis (afterwards a great bone of contention between Athens and Philip of Macedon). Brasidas the Spartan sallied out and defeated the Athenians in an engagement, in which, however, both he and Cleon lost their lives. The number of men with Brasidas is stated by Thucydides (v. 10) to have been 150.

[2] Gylippus was sent to the aid of the Syracusans when besieged by the Athenians. He defeated them in a naval engagement (B.C. 413), and took the Athenian general Nicias and his whole army prisoners. The history of the disastrous "Sicilian expedition" is told in detail in Thucydides, books vi.-vii.

[3] As the Chians, Amphipolitans, and Syracusans.

most ready to endure toil of all the Hellenes, to take counsel concerning these matters with less energy than the rest. For what people are we acquainted with, amongst those worth mentioning at all, who, having been once defeated and once invaded, have in so cowardly a manner agreed to do everything that is dictated to them? how could such men hold out if attacked by prolonged ill fortune? 57. And who would not reproach us if, after the Messenians had endured a siege of twenty years[1] on behalf of their territory, we were to withdraw from it so speedily under an agreement, without even thinking of our ancestors, and, being won over by words, were ourselves to cast away the territory, which they acquired by many struggles and dangers? 58. Some, heeding none of these things, and disregarding all the shame, give you advice, whereby they will involve the city in disgrace. They are so eager to urge you to give up Messene, that they even ventured to set forth in detail both the weakness of the city and the strength of the enemy, and call upon us who are opposed to them to answer and say whence it is that we expect aid to come, when exhorting you to fight. 59. I however think that the weightiest and most lasting bond of alliance consists in doing what is just, for it is probable that also the favour of the gods will attend those who act in this manner, if we may draw conclusions about the future by the aid of what has already happened, and, in addition to this, good government, a life of self-control, and readiness to fight to the death against the foe, and to consider nothing so terrible as to be ill-spoken of by one's fellow-citizens; and it is just these qualities that we have at our command in a greater degree than the rest of mankind. 60. And I would much rather fight in union with these than with many tens of thousands; for I know that the first of us who came into this country gained the upper hand over the rest

[1] In the First Messenian War (B.C. 743-724) against Sparta.

not by superior numbers, but by the good qualities that I have just mentioned. Wherefore it is not worthy of us to fear the enemy because they happen to be many in number, but we ought much rather to feel confidence,[1] when we see that we ourselves have endured misfortunes in a manner that no other people has hitherto done, 61. and that we abide by the usages and customs which we originally established—while the others cannot even endure their successes, but have been thrown off their balance, some seizing the allied cities[2] while others oppose them, others again disputing about territory with their neighbours, and yet others rather jealous of one another than carrying on hostilities against us. Hence I am surprised at those who seek for a more powerful alliance than the mistakes of our enemies. 62. If I am further to speak of assistance from without, I think there will be many willing to help us. For I know that, in the first place, the Athenians, even though they are not altogether in accord with us, will nevertheless do anything they can to insure our safety; in the next place, that some of the other cities will take counsel concerning our interests as if they were their own; 63. further, that the tyrant Dionysius,[3] the king of Egypt,[4] and the other princes in Asia,[5] will readily assist us, as far as they severally are able; and besides, that those of the Hellenes who are prominent owing

[1] ἐπ' ἐκείνοις: "in this," referring to what follows. Others take it as masculine, "in regard to them," *i.e.*, the Thebans.

[2] *i.e.*, the cities belonging to the Theban league.

[3] *i.e.*, Dionysius the younger. The father had been materially assisted by the Spartans in establishing his rule, and had himself, at least on two occasions, aided the Spartans in return: see "Panegyricus," § 126.

[4] Thebes and Persia being at this time united against Sparta, the latter would have every reason to look for help from Egypt, which was always endeavouring to secure independence. Five years later the Spartan king Agesilaus undertook an expedition to assist Tachos, King of Egypt, in his revolt against Persia.

[5] Such as Mausolus, Prince of Caria, who had already assisted Sparta with money.

to their wealth, and stand first in reputation, and desire the best state of affairs,[1] although they have not yet entered into an alliance,[2] are at any rate well-disposed towards us, and we should with good reason entertain great hopes of them in regard to the future.

64. Further, I think that also the rest of the population in Peloponnesus and the democratic party, which we think is especially hostile to us, is already longing for our protection. For none of the results expected by them has happened in consequence of their revolt, but instead of freedom the opposite has come to pass; for, having lost the best of their citizens,[3] they have fallen into the hands of the worst, and instead of securing independence they have become a prey to much and grievous unruliness; 65. and, after having been accustomed hitherto to march in company with us against others, they now see the rest taking the field against *them*, and the civil disturbances, which they formerly heard of as existing amongst others, now almost daily arising amongst themselves. And they have become so levelled by their calamities that no one can distinguish amongst them those who are worst off. 66. For there is not a single city that has not suffered injury, and has not neighbours ready to do it harm,[4] so that fields have been ravaged, cities sacked, private households made desolate, constitutions subverted,[5] and the laws—in the enjoyment of which they were the happiest of the Hellenes—abolished. 67. And in their mutual relations they are so mistrustful and hostile that they fear their

[1] *i.e.*, the oligarchical party, called by Xenophon "the best" (*οἱ βέλτιστοι*); cp. the use of the Latin Optimates.

[2] The words may either mean "entered into a league" amongst themselves to help us, or "entered into an alliance with us."

[3] *i.e.*, the supporters of oligarchy, who were slain or exiled during party contests. "The worst" citizens are the democrats and popular leaders.

[4] Benseler prefers the Aorist *ποιήσαντας*.

[5] The oligarchical governments were overthrown, and, in Sicyon, Euphron even established a "tyrannis."

fellow-citizens more than their enemies; and whereas, during the time of our supremacy, they were united and readily assisted one another, they have now become so unsociable that those who are possessed of wealth would rather throw their property into the sea than assist the needy, while those who are in less prosperous circumstances would prefer to take what they want from the rich by force rather than to find it for themselves; 68. nay more —after having finished the sacrifices, they slaughter one another at the altars;[1] and at the present time there are more exiles from one single city than formerly from the whole of Peloponnesus. And, though so many evils have been enumerated, those that have been omitted are far more numerous than those that have been mentioned; for there is naught of all that is terrible or hard to bear that has not gathered together yonder; 69. some already have their cup of misfortune full, while others at no distant date will have their fill of it, and will then endeavour to find some means of freeing themselves from their present troubles. Do not imagine that they will rest content in that condition; is it likely that those who grew tired of living in prosperity, would long endure to live in evil plight? so that, not only if we conquer in battle, but even if we keep quiet and wait, you will see them changing their minds and coming round to the opinion that alliance with us is their safety. Such, then, are the hopes that I entertain.

70. However, far from carrying out any of the orders dictated, if none of these things should happen, and we were to meet with no assistance from any quarter, but some

[1] After the victory of Agesilaus at Coronea (B.C. 394), many of the Corinthians, desirous of putting an end to the war, sought to bring about a peace with Sparta. The war party, however, took a fearful revenge upon them. On a festival day the peace party were massacred, and suppliants murdered even at the altars. Others refer the words to a massacre at Argos, which took place later.

of the Hellenes were to treat us with injustice, and others were to neglect us, I would not even under those circumstances change my opinion, but I would endure all the dangers of war rather than make such concessions. For I should be ashamed for two reasons: if we were either to charge our ancestors with having unjustly deprived the Messenians of their territory, or if, after they had acquired it in a right and proper manner, we were ourselves to make any concessions in regard to it contrary to our rights. 71. We must rather avoid both of these things, and consider how we shall fight worthily of ourselves and avoid convicting those who are accustomed to praise the state of being liars, and how we shall show ourselves such that they may appear to have said less in our favour than we really deserve. 72. I certainly think that nothing will come to pass worse than the present state of affairs, but that our enemies will adopt such resolutions and act in such a manner that they will restore us to our former position; but should it turn out that we are deceived in our hopes, should we be cut off from help on every side, and no longer be even able to keep the city, although what I am going to say may be hard, I will not shrink from speaking freely about it. For it is more honourable that it should be openly announced to the Hellenes, and more in accordance with our way of thinking than the counsel that certain people offer you.

73. I say, then, that we ought to send our parents, children, wives, and the rest of the population away from the city, some to Sicily,[1] others to Cyrene,[2] others to the mainland,[3] for all the inhabitants of these parts will gladly bestow upon them tracts of land and the other supplies of life in abundance, some by way of returning thanks for favours received, others expecting to receive thanks for benefits they may be the first to confer upon us. 74. Those,

[1] Because the tyrant Dionysius was well-disposed to Sparta.
[2] See "Philippus," § 5.
[3] Asia is probably meant.

however, who are able and willing to face danger should stay behind, and, abandoning the city and all they possess, except such things as we can carry away with us, should occupy as strong a position as possible and one most convenient for war, and harry the enemy both by land and sea, until they cease disputing the ownership of what belongs to us. 75. And if we have the courage to do this and do not shrink from it, you will see those who now impose their orders upon us supplicating and begging us to take back Messene and conclude peace.

Which of the states in Peloponnesus, think you, could stand a war of such magnitude as would probably arise if we so willed it? And who would not be terrified and affrighted at an armed host collected together after it had carried out such measures,[1] and had conceived righteous indignation against those who were to blame for this, and had become desperate in regard to life;[2] 76. which, owing to its freedom from care, and from being occupied with nothing else but war, had come to resemble mercenary forces, while, by reason of its good qualities and training, it was such as no other people in the world could get together, and which, in addition, was attached to no regular state, but was able to pass its time in the open air, and to wander from place to place, settling as the neighbour of whomsoever it pleased, and looking upon all places that are advantageous for war as its fatherland? 77. For I think that if these words be merely spoken and spread abroad amongst the Hellenes, our enemies will be thrown into a state of great confusion, and still more so, should we be forced to carry them into effect. For what are we to think would be their feelings if they should themselves be in evil plight, while unable to inflict any injury upon us? 78. if they should see their own cities reduced to a state of siege, while ours

[1] *i.e.*, sent away the old men, women, and children; see § 73.

[2] The sense of their desperate position would make them reckless and indifferent whether they lived or died.

was so equipped that it could no longer be liable to such a calamity? if, further, they saw that the means for our bodily support were easy to procure, partly from what we already possessed, and partly from the spoils of war, while in their own case it was difficult, because it is by no means the same thing to provide for the wants of such an army and to support the populations in cities?[1] 79. if, further, which would be the most painful of all to them, they should learn that those belonging to us[2] have all along been in easy circumstances, while they see their own citizens day by day in need of the necessaries of life, and are unable even to do anything to alleviate their distress, but, if they cultivate the land, they lose the crops as well, while, if they let it lie untilled, they cannot hold out for a moment?

80. But it may be said that, if they collect and form a united army, they will follow us up and prevent us from injuring them. Well—what could we desire more than to find close to us, drawn up in battle array, and encamping over against us in the neighbourhood of the same inaccessible positions, a host of men ill-disciplined, a mixed multitude, and serving under many leaders? for, without there being any need for much effort, we should speedily compel them to risk the hazard of an engagement when opportunities favoured us rather than them. 81. However, the remainder of the day would not suffice, if I were to attempt to enumerate the advantages that would result. This, however, is clear to all, that we are distinguished amongst the Hellenes, not by the size of our city nor by the number of its inhabitants, but by the fact that we have established a constitution amongst us that re-

[1] *i.e.*, an army, unencumbered with a non-fighting contingent, such as men, women, and children, is by no means so troublesome to support as the numerous and partly useless inhabitants of a city.

[2] The non-combatants who were to be removed from the city, see § 73.

sembles an army that is well led and is ready to obey its leaders. If then we carry out in reality that which was of service to us when we merely imitated it, it is obvious that we shall without difficulty gain the mastery over our enemies.

82. We know that those who were the founders of this city, although they entered Peloponnesus with a small army, conquered many powerful cities.[1] It becomes us, therefore, to imitate our ancestors, and, reverting to their original course of action, after we have suffered a reverse, to endeavour to recover the reputation and influence which we once enjoyed. 83. And we should behave most disgracefully, if, knowing that the Athenians abandoned their own country for the sake of the freedom of the rest of the Hellenes,[2] we were not even to have the courage to give up our city to preserve our own freedom, but, when it behoves us to show ourselves an example of such deeds to others, were to be unwilling even to imitate their conduct. 84. And still more ridiculous would it be if, while the Phocaeans,[3] to escape the tyranny of the Great King, left Asia and emigrated to Massilia, we were to show ourselves so faint-hearted as to put up with the dictation of those whose rulers we have always been.

85. We ought not, however, to allow our thoughts to dwell upon the day when we shall be obliged to part from us those who are nearest and dearest, but without delay it behoves us to look forward to the time when, having overcome our enemies, we shall restore the city to its former

[1] Such as Corinth, Sicyon, and Megara; see also §§ 20, 21.

[2] See "Panegyricus," § 96.

[3] In B.C. 542, the inhabitants of Phocaea, a flourishing seaport town of Ionia, being besieged by Harpalus, deserted the city, and bound themselves by an oath never to return until a mass of iron, which they had cast into the sea, should rise and float; compare Horace, Epod. xvi. According to other accounts, a Phocaean colony had been founded at Massilia (Marseilles) at a much earlier date, during the legendary period of the Roman kings.

position, and fetch back our friends, and show to all that, while at the present time we have unjustly suffered misfortunes, in the past our claim to be superior to the rest of Hellas was a just one. 86. The matter stands thus: I have spoken these words, not because I thought that we ought to act thus at once, nor as if there were no other means of safety in our present condition, but because I was anxious to persuade you that we ought to endure these misfortunes —ay, and still worse than these, before entering into such a compact in the matter of Messene as they seek to impose upon us.

87. I should not exhort you so earnestly to war, did I not see clearly that peace in accordance with my proposals will prove honourable and lasting, but that one concluded in accordance with the counsels of certain persons will not only be disgraceful, but will not even last for a moment. For, if we once settle the Helots near us and allow this city[1] to increase, everyone knows that we shall continue all our life long in the midst of disturbances and dangers; so that those who talk about safety are, without knowing it, making peace for us for a few days, but preparing war for all time.

88. But I should like to hear from them, in what cause they think we ought to lose our lives in battle. Is it not when our enemies dictate to us contrary to justice, deprive us of part of our territory, and set free the slaves, establishing them in this land which our fathers bequeathed to us, not only depriving us of what is our own, but

[1] Messene. The Messenians had for the last three centuries been homeless fugitives, and their territory had been in the possession of the Lacedaemonians. In B.C. 369 Epaminondas invited them to return, and the new capital Messene was built on the site of the ancient Ithome, which had offered such a brave resistance during the second and third Messenian wars. The "Helots" are the old inhabitants who had remained behind, and had been reduced to a position like that of the Spartan serfs.

in addition to other evils plunging us into disgrace? 89. I think that in such a cause it becomes us to endure not only war but even exile and death; for it is far better to end our life with the reputation we enjoy, than to live in the disgrace which we shall incur, if we do what they bid us. And, generally speaking, if I am to express myself without reserve, it is more desirable for us to be driven from house and home than to incur the ridicule of our enemies. For those who have lived in such high repute and with such lofty aims, must do one of two things—either be chief amongst the Hellenes, or allow themselves to be altogether wiped out, without having done anything humiliating, but after having ended their life gloriously.

90. Taking all this into consideration, we must not be chary of our lives, nor be led by the opinions of our allies, whom we once claimed to rule, but, acting in accordance with our own convictions, we must choose not that which is easiest for them, but that which will accord with the honour of Lacedaemon and our own previous acts. For, in regard to the same things, all ought not to counsel alike, but to follow the principle of life which each has laid down for himself from the beginning. 91. Now, no one would rebuke the Epidaurians, Corinthians, and Phliasians,[1] if they were to think of nothing else but escaping and securing their own safety; but it is out of the question for Lacedaemonians to seek to save themselves at any sacrifice, but, unless we can do so with honour, we ought to prefer a glorious death. For those who lay claim to bravery must strive more earnestly to avoid being seen to do anything disgraceful than for anything else. 92. Now, cowardice on the part of cities is displayed no less in such resolves than in the dangers of war. For with the events of war chance has most to do, but what is determined here is an indication of our actual feelings. Therefore we ought to exhibit an honourable ambition in regard to what is to be

[1] The chief advocates of peace at this time.

decided upon here as much as in regard to struggles in arms.

93. I am surprised at those who, while they are ready to die for their own glory, do not entertain the same feelings in regard to the glory of the state, for the sake of which we ought to endure anything whatsoever to avoid bringing disgrace upon the city, and not to behold with indifference its abandonment of the position in which our fathers established it. And, though many terrible difficulties beset us, which we have to escape, 94. this, above all, is to be guarded against, that we shall not be seen acting in a cowardly manner in any respect, or making concessions to our enemies in violation of our rights. For it would be disgraceful that those, who were thought worthy to rule the Hellenes, should be seen obeying the dictates of others and falling so far behind their forefathers, that, while the latter were ready to die for the sake of dictating to others, we do not even venture to run the risk of war in order to escape doing what we are bidden.

95. We ought also to feel ashamed when we think of the Olympian and other[1] public festivals, at which each of us was more envied and admired than the athletes who carried off the victory in the games. But who would venture to be present at them, if he were likely to be despised instead of honoured, and to be regarded with contempt by all instead of being the centre of admiration for his bravery; 96. if further, in addition to this, he were likely to see slaves[2] offering first-fruits and sacrifices in greater abundance than ourselves from the produce of the land which our fathers bequeathed to us, and to hear them using such abusive language as is natural to those who have lived in a more grievous state of slavery than the rest, and have now

[1] Such as the Nemean, Isthmian, Pythian, and special festivals, as the Athenian Panathenaic and Dionysia, and the Spartan Carneia: see "Panegyricus," § 1.

[2] *i.e.*, the inhabitants of an independent Messene: see note on § 87.

made covenants with the same authority as their former masters, whereat [1] each of us would feel so great annoyance that no living man could express it in words? 97. Concerning this we must take counsel and not feel indignant when it will no longer avail us, but we must consider now, how to prevent any such thing happening; since it is something disgraceful that we, who formerly could not even endure equal right of speech on the part of free men, should now be seen to put up with license of expression on the part of slaves. 98. For it will be thought that we were mere braggarts in the past, and by nature like everyone else, and that the overbearing haughtiness we exhibited was not genuine but merely pretended. Let us then afford no such occasion to those who are accustomed to abuse us, but let us endeavour to refute their words, by showing ourselves equal to the deeds of our ancestors.

99. Remember those who fought in Dipaea [2] against the Arcadians, who, drawn up one man deep, are said to have erected a trophy over many tens of thousands; remember the three hundred at Thyrea,[3] who conquered all the Argives in battle, and the thousand [4] who met the foe at

[1] *i.e.*, at the abusive language. Others refer *αἷς* to the covenants (*συνθήκαις*).

[2] A small town in Arcadia, where a small Lacedaemonian army defeated the collected forces of the Arcadians: see Herodotus, ix. 35.

[3] The story is as follows: In the early period of Spartan history (somewhere about B.C. 550) a dispute arose between Sparta and Argos as to the possession of the mountainous tract of Thyrea (or Cynuria), a border district between Argolis and Laconia; three hundred picked warriors from each fought to decide the question. Both sides claimed the victory; a second battle was afterwards fought, in which the Spartans gained the day. The statement is not quite accurate, as it was not three hundred, but the whole force of the Spartans who were victorious, and Isocrates has confused the two engagements.

[4] 300 Spartans and 700 Thespians, under the command of Leonidas (see Sandys on "Panegyricus," § 90).

Thermopylae,[1] 100. who, engaging with 700,000 of the barbarians, neither fled nor suffered defeat, but ended their life on the spot where they were posted, and proved themselves such that professional panegyrists are unable to find sufficient praise for their glorious deeds. 101. Therefore, remembering all this, let us hold fast more stoutly to war, and not wait in the expectation that others will heal our present misfortunes, but, since they have happened in our time, let us even ourselves try to put an end to them. And it is just in such emergencies that brave men should show themselves conspicuous; 102. for, even in the case of worthless men, good fortune helps to conceal their cowardice, while bad luck quickly makes it clear what manner of man each is; and in the latter case we must show whether we have been in any respect better reared than others and brought up in the way of valour.

103. And there is no reason to despair that some desirable result may accrue from our present position. For I think you are not unaware, that many things have occurred before now which at first all considered to be calamities, and commiserated those who endured them, while they afterwards recognised that these very same events had been the cause of the greatest benefits. 104. What need is there to mention instances of remote date? even at the present time we should find that at any rate the states that stand in the front rank in Hellas (I am speaking of Athens and Thebes) have not made such great progress as a result of peace, but in consequence of having recovered from their previous misfortunes in war,—after which the one[2] became the head of the Hellenes, while the other[3] has become more powerful

[1] This famous pass, so called from its hot springs, was between Mount Oeta on the one side and marshy ground extending down to the sea on the other; see note on "Panegyricus," § 90.

[2] The Athenians; referring to the second Athenian naval supremacy (B.C. 377) under Timotheus and Chabrias.

[3] Thebes, under the distinguished leadership of Epaminondas and Pelopidas.

at the present time than anyone ever expected; for positions of distinction and renown are generally the result, not of peace, but of war. 105. For these it behoves us to strive, sparing neither our persons nor our lives nor anything else we possess. For if we once succeed and are able to restore the city to the position from which it has fallen, we shall both be admired more than our forefathers, and shall leave those who come after us no chance of surpassing our heroic behaviour, but shall make those who are desirous of praising us despair of saying anything commensurate with our achievements. 106. Nor ought you to forget this either, that the attention of all is fixed upon this assembly and the resolutions you shall make. Therefore, let each of you be so minded, as if he were giving an exhibition of his character on the common stage of Hellas.

107. And it is a simple matter to come to a good resolution in regard to this. For if we be ready to die for our rights, we shall not merely gain renown, but also for the future it will be possible for us to live in security; but if we show ourselves afraid of dangers, we shall bring ourselves into great confusion. 108. Let us, therefore, exhorting one another, repay our country the cost of our bringing up, and let us not quietly look on and see Lacedaemon insulted and despised, nor cause those who are well-disposed towards us to be deceived in their expectations, nor show that we set a higher value on life than on a good reputation amongst mankind, 109. bearing in mind that it is more honourable to exchange imperishable fame for a perishable body, and to purchase with life, which a few years hence will no longer be ours, such renown as will abide with our descendants for all time to come, rather than, clinging closely to a brief span of years, to cover ourselves with great disgrace. 110. And I think that you would be most incited to war, if you were to behold in spirit your parents and children as it were standing by you, the former exhorting you to disgrace neither the name of Sparta, nor

the laws under which we were brought up, nor the battles which were fought in their time; the latter demanding the restoration of the territory which our forefathers bequeathed to us, and of that influence among the Hellenes and the supremacy which we ourselves received at the hands of our fathers; for we should be unable to gainsay that the demands of both were just.

111. I know not what more I need say, except this, that, although very many wars and dangers have befallen this city, our enemies have never yet set up a trophy over us as long as a king belonging to our house was leader.[1] And it behoves men of sense to follow the advice of those under whose leadership in battle they are successful, when they give counsel concerning coming dangers, rather than that of others.

[1] See note on § 8.

AREOPAGITICUS.

The date of the composition of this speech cannot be settled with certainty. Two possible dates are mentioned, (1) B.C. 355, when peace was concluded after the Social War; (2) B.C. 346, after the conclusion of the Peace of Philocrates between Athens and Philip. In favour of the latter is the mention of the loss of the Thracian cities (§ 9), referring to the destruction of Olynthus and more than thirty Thracian and Chalcidian towns (B.C. 347). We are told in § 1 that there was peace on the frontiers of Attica, and that a general sense of security prevailed. But the sense of terror and depression inspired by the subsequent devastation of Phocis by Philip would have effectually prevented any feeling of blind self-confidence on the part of the Athenians, such as is here rebuked by Isocrates; still less would they have been likely to think that it was rather the enemies of the city who ought to fear for their own safety (§ 2). It is further remarkable that, when the orator speaks of the sudden changes in the position of powerful states, he says nothing of the fall of Olynthus (B.C. 347), which he would hardly have omitted when the impression of it must have been so fresh in men's minds; and some mention might have been expected of Macedonia as a third source of danger (besides the two mentioned in § 81), even if Isocrates, in his blind belief in Philip, himself apprehended no danger from that quarter, because undoubtedly there were a good many people who did.

On the other hand, §§ 9 and 10 strongly favour the earlier date, as also the mention of the 1,000 talents spent on the Social War, of the loss of the confederates as the result of the conclusion of peace, the hatred incurred by Athens in consequence of this war, and the revival of the enmity of the Persian king (see note on § 10), who was reported to have promised to send 300 ships to the assistance of Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium, which induced Athens to conclude peace with the revolted allies.

Of the words in § 10, "We have further been compelled to save the friends of the Thebans, while we have lost our own allies," two interpretations are given. (1) They are taken to refer to Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium, with which Thebes had been

on friendly terms since B.C. 363, and whose independence Athens was obliged to guarantee when peace was concluded. The objection to this is that the two clauses are then identical in meaning. (2) They are referred to the Messenians and Megalopolitans, who, since the campaign of Epaminondas, had been on friendly terms with the Thebans, to whom Athens was opposed during the Phocian War. Again, according to Demosthenes (in the speech on behalf of the Megalopolitans, which was delivered in B.C. 352), Athens had solemnly bound herself to assist the Messenians, if they were ever attacked by the Spartans, which explains the second clause.

The chief objection urged against the earlier date is the explanation of the phrase, "the cities in Thrace," because the words *τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης* are commonly used to denote, not only the Chalcidian peninsula, but also the Greek colonies on the south coast of Thrace. But, considering that Philip had already taken Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea, and alienated Olynthus from Athens, although he had not yet actually captured it and its confederate cities, the phrase may fairly be taken as a rhetorical exaggeration.

The balance of evidence, including the tone of the speech itself, may therefore be taken as favouring the latter half of B.C. 355 as the time when it was written.

As the "Panegyricus" dealt with the external relations of Athens, so the "Areopagiticus" is concerned with the inner life of the city. Isocrates contrasts the democracy of his time with that of Solon and Cleisthenes. According to him, the chief superiority of the latter consisted in (1) the appointment of the higher officials by election by show of hands instead of by lot (see note on § 10), and (2) the wider powers of the council of Areopagus.

There seems no doubt that this council existed before the time of Solon as a deliberative assembly and a court of justice, and that it consisted of the heads of the twelve phratriae or fraternities (each of the original four tribes containing three) or 360 *γένη* or clans. It has been compared with the Homeric council of old men. The constitution of Solon introduced a change both in its composition and mode of election to membership. By his reforms, those were chosen to fill it who had discharged the duties of Archon without reproach; they were

elected for life, unless expelled for misconduct. The election of the members of the Areopagus was thus directly connected with that of the Archons. The following account is given by Böckh, "Public Economy of Athens": "According to the political constitution of Solon the candidates for the higher executive offices of state were invested with them by election (show of hands), the Archons, however, undoubtedly being only elected from the Pentacosiomedimni (or highest class according to property qualifications). Probably Cleisthenes left the qualification for holding the office unchanged, but altered the method of creating the Archons by election, and substituted the democratic method by lot. Thus, at the time when Aristides was appointed Archon, these officers were chosen by lot from the Pentacosiomedimni. After the battle of Plataea, Aristides conferred upon all Athenians, without distinction of property, the right of admission to the higher dignities of state, which they had purchased with their blood shed on the field of battle; but henceforth they were nominated by lot." (See note on § 10.)

In pre-Solonian Athens the Areopagus had become merely a criminal court, which tried cases of wilful murder, poisoning, and arson. Draco transferred the jurisdiction of cases of homicide to a special board called Ephetae, which was again practically transferred to the Areopagus by Solon. At that time the power of the latter reached its height. Solon invested it with the general supervision of state affairs; it watched over the conduct of magistrates during their term of office, controlled the proceedings of the popular assembly, and possessed a censorial power of maintaining public discipline and of calling private persons to account for their behaviour, and exercised a general control over the young. It also had the direction of religious matters, especially of the cult of the Erinnyes (or Eumenides), whose cave was situated immediately under the hill of Ares.

Pericles and Ephialtes, regarding its influence as dangerous to the progress of democracy, resolved to curtail its powers. Their project met with much opposition, of which the Eumenides of Aeschylus is a surviving proof. This play was brought out with the object of impressing upon the citizens the dignity, sacred character, and usefulness of the institution, as set forth in an harangue put into the mouth of the goddess Athene herself. In spite of opposition, however, it was deprived of its

power of superintending the morals and conduct of the citizens in both civil and religious matters, though not of its authority as a criminal tribunal.

The general supervision was vested in seven new magistrates, called Nomophylaces, who were subsequently abolished during the archonship of Euclides (B.C. 403), when the Areopagus regained part of its controlling authority.

It is for the restoration of the power of censorial supervision over the private life of the citizens, as tending to keep alive a spirit of conservatism, that Isocrates is especially anxious. In spite, however, of its being a political nonentity, the Areopagus to a very late period enjoyed the respect of the citizens (and even of the Roman conquerors), from its connection with religious worship and the high character of the members who composed it.

The speech was neither delivered nor intended to be; it belongs to the class of "deliberative" speeches.

In the Introduction Isocrates defends himself against the reproach that it is folly to speak of danger when the state is so prosperous, by pointing out that it is quite possible for luck to change. Even recently the city has suffered much loss, has foolishly trifled away the good results of the victories of Conon and Timotheus, and is suffering from the want of the best foundation of the power of a state, a good constitution. He advocates a return to the old state of things, pointing out the blessings enjoyed at that time by the city both publicly and privately (19-35), which were attributable to the active influence of the Areopagus (36-56), and meets the objection that he is behaving as an opponent of democracy, and that the present constitution has done so much good that there is no necessity for advocating any change.

In conclusion, he recommends his proposal to the citizens as the only means of saving the city and the Hellenes generally.

AREOPAGITICUS.

1. I THINK many of you wonder whatever is the idea that has led me to come forward to speak concerning the public safety, as if the city were in peril, or its affairs in a dangerous condition, instead of being the owner of more than two hundred triremes, at peace in Attica and the neighbourhood, 2. mistress of the sea, and still in a position to command the support of many allies who will be ready to assist us in time of need, and of a still larger number who pay contributions[1] and obey our orders;[2] while we possess all these advantages, one would say that we might reasonably be of good courage as being out of reach of danger, and that it is rather our enemies who ought to be afraid and to take counsel for their own safety.

3. I know well that you, adopting this line of argument, despise my appearance here, and expect to maintain your authority over the whole of Greece with your present

[1] The word in the original (*σύνταξις*) was introduced on the establishment of the second Athenian confederacy (B.C. 378), as being less offensive than the one formerly employed (*φόρος*, tribute).

[2] According to one explanation the two classes of "allies" are (1) the more powerful, who had their own ships, who paid no "contribution" or "tribute" of any kind, and (2) the weaker, who possessed no fleet, and in place of it paid a *σύνταξις*, which placed them in an inferior position. But, as it is probable that *all* the members of the second confederacy paid something, the first-mentioned class of "allies" is taken by others to mean "allies" in a wider and more general sense, with whom Athens had concluded a treaty of alliance, who were politically independent of her, but ready to assist her on occasion.

resources; whereas this is just the reason why I am afraid. For I see that those cities, which think they are most prosperous, adopt the worst counsels, and that those which feel the greatest confidence fall into the greatest dangers. 4. The reason of this is, that no good or evil falls to the lot of man by itself alone, but, while wealth and power are attended and followed by want of sense, accompanied by license, want and a humble position bring with them prudence and moderation, 5. so that it is hard to decide which of these two lots one would prefer to leave as a legacy to his children. For we should find that, starting from that which seems to be worse, things generally improve; while, as the result of that which is apparently better, they usually deteriorate. 6. I can bring forward the greatest number of instances of this, from the affairs of individuals—which are subject to such changes most frequently—not but what examples from what has happened to us and the Lacedaemonians are more striking and better known to my hearers. For, after our city had been destroyed by the barbarians,[1] by reason of our cautious behaviour and attention to public affairs we became leaders of the Hellenes, but, as soon as we fancied that the power we possessed was invincible, we narrowly escaped being enslaved;[2] 7. and in like manner the Lacedaemonians, starting originally from humble and insignificant cities,[3] owing to their temperate and soldierly manner of life, became masters of Peloponnesus, but, subsequently, becoming inordinately swollen with pride after they had gained the supremacy both by sea and land, became involved in the same perils as ourselves.[4]

[1] During the Persian Wars.

[2] After the Peloponnesian War, when the Thebans and Corinthians recommended the annihilation of Athens.

[3] From the Dorian tetrapolis: cp. Or. xii. § 253.

[4] After their defeat by the Thebans at the battle of Leuctra, B.C 371.

8. If then anyone, knowing that such striking changes have taken place, and that such great powers have been so speedily destroyed, puts his trust in present circumstances, he is exceedingly foolish, especially as our city is in a far inferior position now than it was then, and the hatred which is felt towards us by the Hellenes[1] and the enmity of the Great King has been renewed, which is just what on that occasion caused our downfall.

9. I am at a loss whether I am to suppose that you take no thought of public affairs, or that, while you do consider them, you have become so dull that you do not perceive in what inconsistency the city is involved. For you—myself included—resemble men in one or other of the above states of mind, seeing that, while we have lost all the cities on the coast of Thrace,[2] spent more than a thousand talents to no purpose upon mercenaries, 10. incurred the ill-will of the Hellenes, and the hostility of the barbarian, and have further been compelled to save the friends of the Thebans, while we have lost our own allies,[3] we have already in honour of such brilliant achievements twice[4] offered sacrifice, and now meet to deliberate concerning them with less energy than men who are successful in all they undertake. 11. And herein we both act and suffer as might naturally be expected; for it is impossible for any special department to turn out satisfactorily for those who do not counsel aright concerning the general management of affairs,

[1] As exhibited in the Social War.

[2] See Introduction to this speech.

[3] Not all of them, as we learn from § 2. Of the seventy-five cities which formed the Second Confederacy, some of the smaller communities remained faithful to Athens, even after the Social War.

[4] Once in honour of a victory gained over the Persians by the Athenian general Chares, who supported the satrap Artabazus in his revolt against Artaxerxes Ochus. If the same general's defeat of Philip's mercenaries, under Adaeus at Cypsela on the Hebrus, be considered the second occasion, the speech cannot be put earlier than B.C. 353, when that event took place.

but, if they do succeed in certain cases, either through chance or the valour of an individual,[1] after a brief interval they find themselves again in the same difficulties. This anyone may learn from what has happened in regard to ourselves. 12. For, when the whole of Hellas fell under the sway of our city after the naval engagement fought by Conon and the expedition of Timotheus,[2] we were unable to maintain our good fortune for any length of time, but speedily undermined and destroyed it. For we neither have nor endeavour to find a policy which will conduct affairs aright. 13. And yet we are all aware that good fortune comes to and abides with those who manage their city in the best and most prudent manner, not with those who have surrounded themselves with the most splendid and most extensive walls, nor even with those who have gathered together in the same place in the greatest numbers. 14. For a city's soul is nothing else but its political principle, which has as great influence as understanding in a man's body. For this it is that counsels concerning everything, and, while preserving prosperity, avoids misfortune. It is this that laws, orators, and individuals must naturally resemble, and fare according to the principles they hold. 15. We however pay no heed to its destruction, and give no thought how we shall recover it; but, sitting in our shops, we abuse the present constitution, and assert that we were never worse governed under a democracy, while in our acts and thoughts we show ourselves more attached to

[1] There is here an allusion to Conon, the victor in the sea-fight at Cnidus (B.C. 394), who restored the naval supremacy of Athens to something like its ancient renown.

[2] The son of Conon, and personal friend of Isocrates. He defeated the Spartans near Corcyra, and induced that island, together with Cephallenia, Acarnania, and several Epirot tribes, to join the Athenian confederacy. See "Antidosis" (§§ 107-113), and General Introduction, § 3.

it than to that bequeathed to us by our ancestors. It is on behalf of the latter that I propose to speak, and have given notice in writing of my intention to do so.[1] 16. For I see that this will be the only means of averting future dangers and getting rid of our present evils, if, namely, we be willing to restore that democracy which Solon,[2] the devoted friend of the people, introduced, and which Cleisthenes, who drove out the despots[3] and restored the rights of the people, re-established in its original form. 17. We should not find a constitution more favourable to the people or more beneficial to the state than that. The strongest proof whereof is, that those who lived under it, having wrought many noble deeds and gained universal renown, received the headship from the Hellenes of their own free will, while those who are enamoured of the present constitution, hated by all, after having undergone dreadful sufferings, have only just escaped being involved in the direst calamities. 18. Surely it cannot be right to acquiesce in or be content with this constitution, which has been the cause of so many evils in former times, and is now every year growing worse. Ought we not rather to fear that, if our misfortunes increase to such an extent, we may at last run aground upon more grievous troubles than those that then befell us ?[4]

19. In order that you may make your choice and decide between the two constitutions, not merely after having heard a general statement, but from accurate knowledge, it is your duty to give your earnest attention to what I say,

[1] All those who intended to speak in the assembly were obliged to give such notice to the Prytaneis.

[2] Isocrates draws a more accurate distinction between Solon and Cleisthenes elsewhere ("Antidosis," § 232), but it is the general tendency of orators to ascribe all political institutions to the former.

[3] The Pisistratidae.

[4] After the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war.

while I endeavour, as briefly as possible, to give you an account of both.

20. Those who conducted[1] the affairs of the city at that time established a constitution that was not merely in name most mild and impartial, while in reality it did not show itself such to those who lived under it,—a constitution that did not train its citizens in such a manner that they considered license democracy, lawlessness liberty, insolence of speech equality,[2] and the power of acting in this manner happiness, but which, by hating and punishing men of such character, made all the citizens better and more modest. 21. And what chiefly assisted them in managing the state aright was this: of the two recognised principles of equality, the one assigning the same to all, the other their due to individuals, they were not ignorant which was the more useful, but rejected as unjust that which considered that good and bad had equal claims, 22. and preferred that which honoured and punished each man according to his deserts; and governed the state on these principles, not appointing magistrates from the general body of citizens by lot,[3] but selecting the best and most capable to fill each office. For they hoped that the rest of the citizens would

[1] Solon and Cleisthenes.

[2] Blass conjectures *ἰσηγορίαν* (equal right of speech), considering the reading in the text (*ἰσονομίαν*) to be due to the preceding *παρανομίαν*.

[3] The time when election "by lot" to the higher public offices, as opposed to that by "show of hands," was first introduced is the subject of controversy. It was certainly not due to Solon, for Aristotle says that he only changed the qualifications necessary for office, not the manner of election. Some ascribe the change to Cleisthenes (B.C. 510); others to the period anterior to the battle of Marathon (B.C. 490); others again connect it with the reforms of Aristides, which admitted all classes to office, *i.e.*, later than the battle of Plataea (B.C. 479); finally, others put it as late as the reforms of Pericles and Ephialtes (B.C. 461). The state-treasurer (*ταμίας*), however, and the highest military officials, were still chosen by "election."

behave themselves like those at the head of affairs. 23. In the next place, they thought that this method of appointing to office was more to the advantage of the people than appointment by lot; since, in appointing by lot, chance would have the decision, and supporters of oligarchy would often obtain offices, while, in selecting the most respectable citizens, the people would be able to choose those who were most favourably disposed towards the established constitution. 24. And the reason why the majority were contented with this arrangement and why public offices were not objects of contention was, that they had learnt to work and economize, and not to neglect their own property while entertaining designs on that of others, nor again to supply their own needs at the expense of the public funds, but rather to assist the treasury, if necessary, out of their own means, and not to have a more accurate knowledge of the income arising from public offices,[1] than of that produced by their own property. 25. So severely did they keep their hands off the state revenues, that during those times it was harder to find men willing to undertake office than it is now to find men who have no desire for office at all; for they regarded the care of public affairs not as a lucrative business but as a public charge, and they did not from the very day they took office consider whether the former holders of office had left anything to be gained, but rather whether they had neglected anything that pressed for a settlement. 26. In short, they had made up their minds that the people, like an absolute master, ought to control the public offices, punish offenders and settle disputed points, and that those who were able to enjoy ease and possessed sufficient means should attend to

[1] The allusion is to the daily allowance of three obols for the dicasts and members of the Ecclesia, and of a drachma for the members of the Boulē. The word *ἀρχεῖον* properly means any place where the magistrates met for the transaction of public business.

public affairs like servants, 27. and, if they acted justly, should be praised and rest contented with this recognition of their services, while, if they managed affairs badly, they should meet with no mercy, but should be visited with the severest penalties. And how would it be possible to find a democracy more just or more secure than one which set the most influential citizens at the head of public affairs, and at the same time invested the people with sovereign control over these same officials?

28. Such was the arrangement of the constitution adopted by them; and it is easy to understand from this that in their everyday life they always acted with uprightness and in accordance with the laws. For, when men have adopted right principles in regard to affairs in general, single departments of the same must of necessity resemble the whole.

29. And first, in regard to the gods—for it is right to begin with them—they neither worshipped them nor celebrated their festivals without due order and regularity; not following in sacrificial procession three hundred oxen whenever they thought fit, and neglecting the sacrifices instituted by their ancestors whenever the caprice seized them; nor did they, while celebrating with the greatest magnificence festivals introduced from foreign countries, whenever accompanied by a public entertainment, hand over the conduct of the most holy sacrifices by contract to those who made the lowest tender;[1] 30. but their only care was to avoid abolishing any of the institutions of their forefathers, or making any addition to the ancient regulations; for they did not think that piety consisted in extravagance, but in disturbing none of the institutions handed down to them by their ancestors. For the blessings of the gods did not accrue to them in a disorderly or irregular manner, but in due season,

[1] Another interpretation of *ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων* is: "from the proceeds of the rent of the sacred precincts" (*ἐκ τῶν τεμενικῶν προσόδων*).

both as regarded the cultivation of the soil and the gathering in of the crops.

31. In a similar manner they behaved in their relations towards one another. For they were not only in accord upon public matters, but, in regard to their private life, they showed such consideration for one another as befits men of sense and members of one and the same fatherland. Far from the poorer citizens envying the richer, 32. they were as anxious about the wealthy families as about their own, considering their prosperity to be a source of advantage to themselves; while those who were possessed of means not only did not look down upon those who were in a humbler position, but, considering it disgraceful to themselves that the citizens should be in want, relieved their needs, handing over plots of land to some at a moderate rental, sending others out on business, and advancing capital to others for other occupations. 33. For they were not afraid either of losing all, or with great difficulty recovering only a part of what had been lent, but felt as safe about the money put out as if it had been stored away at home. For they saw that those who decided claims for debt did not err on the side of leniency, 34. but obeyed the laws, not making use of the suits of others in order to make it easy for them to act dishonestly themselves,[1] but feeling more anger against those who cheated even than those who were themselves wronged, thinking that the poor sustained more injury than the rich by the act of those who did not faithfully observe their agreements; for the latter, if they were to give up lending money, would only lose a small portion of their income, while the former, if they should be without any to assist them, would be reduced to the greatest distress. 35. Since all shared this opinion, no one either concealed the amount of his property or shrank from lending money, but all were

[1] *i.e.*, they did not acquit dishonest debtors in the hope of getting the same done for themselves on some future occasion.

more pleased to see borrowers than payers. For two things happened to them, which sensible men would desire: they both benefited their fellow-citizens and laid out their money to advantage. In short, as the result of their honourable social intercourse, their property was secured to those to whom it by right belonged, and the enjoyment of it was open to all the citizens who stood in need of it.

36. Perhaps someone may object to my statements that, while I praise the condition of affairs at that time, I give no explanation of the causes which made their relations amongst themselves so satisfactory and their administration of the city so successful; wherefore, although I think that I have already said something on this point, I will endeavour to give a fuller and clearer account of them. 37. While in their early training they had many[1] instructors, they were not allowed, when they reached manhood, to do as they pleased, but it was just in the prime of life that they were more carefully looked after than during their boyhood. For our ancestors paid such attention to virtue that they charged the council of Areopagus with the maintenance of decorum, to the membership of which body only those were admitted who were of noble birth,[2] and who had shown distinguished virtue and sobriety in their life, so that naturally it stood before all the other assemblies of Hellas.

38. From what takes place at the present day we may draw inferences concerning the institutions of that period; for even now, when everything connected with the election and scrutiny[3] of magistrates is neglected, we should find

[1] Besides his *παιδαγωγὸς*, the youth had a *παιδοτρίβης* (teacher of gymnastics), a *γραμματοδιδάσκαλος* (instructor in reading, writing, arithmetic), a *κιθαριστής* (teacher of music), besides a number of teachers in "extras."

[2] See Introduction to this speech.

[3] At the age of eighteen the *ἔφηβος* passed his *δοκιμασία* (or scrutiny). After he had been for two years *ἔφηβος* (*ἐπὶ δίετες ἥβησεν*), he passed his *δοκιμασία εἰς ἄνδρας*. The "scrutiny" was a process for ascertaining the capacity of a citizen for the exercise of public

that men, whose conduct in other respects is insufferable, when once they have become members of the Areopagus,[1] shrink from following their natural bent, and conform to the regulations of the council rather than indulge their own vicious propensities—so great was the dread with which it inspired the vicious, and such the memorial of virtue and sobriety that it left behind in that place.

39. Such was the authority to which, as I have said, they intrusted the maintenance of good order, which considered that those were in error who imagined that a community, in which the laws were framed with the greatest exactness, produced the best men; for, if this were so, there would be nothing to prevent all the Hellenes being on the same level, so far as the facility of adopting one another's written laws is concerned. 40. They, on the contrary, knew that virtue is not promoted by the laws, but by the habits of daily life, and that most people turn out men of like character to those in whose midst they have severally been brought up. For, where there are a number of laws drawn up with great exactitude, it is a proof that the city is badly administered; for the inhabitants are compelled to frame laws in great numbers as a barrier against offences. 41. Those, however, who are rightly

rights and duties. Inquiry was publicly made by the archons in the presence of the senate into their descent, life, and character, and the amount of their property. In the case of retired archons, after an account (*εὐθύνη*) of the manner in which they had filled the duties of that office had been rendered, they were admitted as members of the Areopagus. The use of the word "election" does not imply that they were chosen into the Areopagus by show of hands (see note on § 22), but the Greek word must be used in a *general* sense.

[1] Literally, "when once they have ascended the hill of Ares." The council was called the "Upper Council" (*ἡ ἄνω βουλή*) as holding its meetings on the hill, to distinguish it from the Solonian *βουλή* of 400 (or the Cleisthenean of 500).

governed should not cover the walls of the porticoes[1] with copies of the laws, but preserve justice in their hearts; for it is not by decrees but by manners that cities are well governed, and, while those who have been badly brought up will venture to transgress laws drawn up even with the greatest exactitude, those who have been well educated will be ready to abide by laws framed in the simplest terms. 42. With these ideas, they did not first consider how they should punish the disorderly, but by what means they should induce them to refrain from committing any offence deserving of punishment; for they considered that this was their mission, but that eagerness to inflict punishment was a matter of personal enmity.

43. They were careful of the welfare of all the citizens, but especially the younger. For they saw that, at their time of life, they were most disposed to turbulence and full of desires, and that their minds needed to be specially trained and exercised in honourable pursuits and work accompanied by enjoyment, since those who have been brought up in a liberal spirit, and are accustomed to entertain high thoughts, would abide by these alone. 44. It was impossible to direct all towards the same pursuits, as their positions in life were not the same; but they ordered them to follow occupations in conformity with their means. Those who were less well off than others they employed in agriculture and mercantile pursuits, knowing that want of means arises from idleness, and vicious habits from want of means: 45. thus, by removing the source of these evils, they thought to keep them from the other offences that follow in its train. Those, on the other hand, who were possessed of sufficient means, they compelled to devote their time to horse-racing, athletic exercises,[2] hunting and philo-

[1] The laws were publicly exposed in the στοὰ βασίλειος at Athens, see "Panegyricus," § 180.

[2] There were three Gymnasia at Athens, the Lyceum, the Academia, and the Cynosarges.

sophy, seeing that as the result of such pursuits some gain distinction, while others are kept from most vices. 46. And, while they made these regulations, they did not neglect the future, but, dividing the city into wards and the country into townships, they kept watch upon the life of each individual citizen, haling the disorderly before the Council, which admonished some, threatened others, and inflicted due punishment where it was necessary. For they knew that there were two different methods, one of which encouraged men to wrongdoing, while the other stopped them from evil courses; 47. for, amongst people where no watch is kept on such matters, and judgment is not strictly meted out, even better natures are corrupted; but, where it is difficult for wrongdoers to escape observation, or, if detected, to obtain pardon, evil habits gradually disappear. 48. Aware of this, they checked the citizens both by punishment and careful supervision; and, far from those who had committed any crime escaping detection by them, they knew beforehand those who were likely to commit one. In consequence of this system, the young men did not pass their time in gambling-houses, the company of female flute-players, or in society such as that in which they now spend their days, but kept to the manners in which they had been trained, respecting and striving to emulate those who were distinguished for their adherence to them. Accordingly, they avoided the market-place,[1] and, if at any time they were compelled to cross it, they were seen to do so with decency and self-respect. 49. They considered it a greater sin at that time to contradict or abuse their elders than they do now to insult their parents. No one—not even a respectable slave—would have ventured to eat or drink in a tavern.[2] They were

[1] The "market-place" was the haunt of idlers. It was also considered unseemly for young men to have anything to do with business.

[2] According to Hyperides, anyone who was found taking a meal

careful to behave with gravity and not to play the buffoon, considering those who were versatile and apt in sarcasm—who are now called witty—to be miserable fools.

50. Let no one, however, think that I am disposed to be hard upon those who pass their youth like this. For I do not consider they are to blame for what happens, and at the same time I know well that most of them feel very little pleasure in a state of things which allows them to pass their time in the enjoyment of such license; wherefore I should not with good reason reproach them, but with far greater propriety those who managed the city a little before our time;[1] 51. for it was they who encouraged them in their frivolous behaviour and put down the power of the Council. As long as the latter exercised supervision over public manners, the city was not full of lawsuits, indictments, taxes, poverty, or wars, but the citizens lived quietly with one another and were at peace with the rest of the world. For they showed themselves worthy of the confidence of the Hellenes, and a terror to the barbarians; 52. they had saved the former, and exacted such penalties from the latter, that they thought themselves lucky if they escaped further punishment. Accordingly, by this behaviour they passed their days in such complete security that the dwellings and establishments in the country were finer and more magnificent than those within the city, and many of the citizens did not even go down to the city to the public festivals, but preferred to remain in the enjoyment of their own, rather than to derive pleasure from what was provided by the state. 53. Even in the matter of public spectacles, by which some might be attracted, they did not behave with insolence or pride, but in a sensible manner.

in a tavern was thereby disqualified for becoming a member of the Areopagus.

[1] About twenty-three years before the birth of Isocrates (B.C. 460), when the power of the Areopagus was weakened by Ephialtes and Pericles.

For they did not judge happiness by processions or rivalries in the equipment of choruses, or suchlike vanities, but by prudent management of the city, by the affairs of daily life and by the absence of destitution amongst the citizens. It is by such tests that we ought to distinguish those who are truly prosperous from those who pursue a low and beggarly policy; 54. for what sensible man would not feel hurt at the present state of things, if he saw numbers of the citizens themselves drawing[1] lots outside the law-courts on the chance of getting the necessaries of life, and yet not ashamed to support any of the Hellenes who are willing to row[2] their ships, dancing on the stage in garments spangled with gold and wearing during the winter clothes such as I do not care to mention[3] —and similar economical contradictions, which bring deep disgrace upon the city? 55. Nothing like this occurred when the Council possessed authority; for it relieved the poor from their distress by giving them employment and by the assistance rendered by the rich, and checked the spirit of license amongst the younger by its wise regulations and careful surveillance, while it prevented those who took part in public affairs from becoming avaricious

[1] A body of 6,000 citizens was elected every year by lot to form a supreme court of justice, called Heliaea (*ἡλιαία*). This was divided into ten smaller courts of 500 each, the remaining 1,000 being held in reserve as substitutes. The pay (at first one obol, afterwards three) given to them was introduced by Pericles. It was not known how many jurymen (*δικασταί*) would be required, and as, on the morning of every day when the courts sat, a new ballot took place, it is easy to understand there would have been a scene of great excitement; cp. "Peace," § 130, "Antidosis," § 152.

[2] At the commencement of the Peloponnesian War, the rowers were foreigners and the riff-raff of Hellas, while the captains and crew were Athenian citizens. Later this was reversed (cp. "Peace," § 48).

[3] The wealthy lost all their property by taxation, lavish equipments of choruses and the like, and were thus reduced to great poverty.

by penalties and the impossibility of wrongdoers escaping detection, and the older men from becoming disheartened, by political honours and the respect shown to them by the younger. And how could there be a constitution more worthy of respect than one like this, which paid such careful attention to everything?

56. I have now given an account of most of the institutions of that time; those which I have omitted may be readily understood from those which I have mentioned, because they resembled them. Even before this, some who heard me recounting them were loud in their praises of myself, and congratulated our ancestors on managing the state after this fashion; 57. they did not, however, think that you would be persuaded to adopt it, but that, influenced by habit, you would prefer to remain in your evil plight under present conditions, rather than to amend your political institutions and enjoy a happier life. They further declared that, although my advice was excellent, I ran the risk of being thought an enemy of the people and desirous of plunging the city into oligarchy. 58. And, indeed, if I were speaking of institutions that were unknown and not universally recognised, and were recommending you to appoint committees or boards[1] to discuss them, such as those by whose agency the democracy was formerly abolished, I should deservedly be open to this reproach; but, as it is, I have said nothing of the kind, but have discussed a political organization that is no secret, 59. but well known, which you are all aware is our forefathers' and has been the cause of the greatest blessings both to the city and the rest of the Hellenes,—one which, besides, was established and founded by men whom all would allow have shown

[1] On the first establishment of an oligarchical government at Athens (B.C. 411), it was proposed that ten men called "assessors" (*συγγραφεῖς*) should be appointed with unlimited powers to submit new laws to the people. At the same time "committees" (*σύνεδροι*) were chosen, charged with the general introduction of the oligarchy.

themselves the truest friends of the citizens. It would therefore be a most monstrous injustice, if, while seeking to induce you to adopt such a constitution, I should be thought desirous of introducing revolutionary measures.

60. In the next place, it will be easy to understand what I mean from the following remarks. From most of my speeches it will be seen that I strongly object to oligarchies and privileges, and approve of equality of rights and democracies,—not, however, of all, but of such as are well constituted,—nor again, at random, but on principles of justice and reason. 61. For I know that our ancestors, under such a form of government, were far superior to the rest of the Hellenes, and that the Lacedaemonians are most flourishing, because they enjoy the most perfect democracy.[1] For, in their election of magistrates, in their daily life, and other pursuits, we shall find that equality of rights and position prevail more amongst them than amongst the rest of the Hellenes; now these are just the things that meet with the hostility of oligarchies, while they are always adopted by those who live under a well-conducted democracy.

62. Further, in the case of the greatest and most famous of all the other cities, if we choose to inquire, we shall find that democracy is more advantageous than oligarchy; to take our own constitution, which all attack, if we compare it, not with that which I have just mentioned, but with that set up by the Thirty, everyone would be of opinion that it was a divine creation.

63. Although some will perhaps say that I am going

[1] The "democracy" of the Spartans (*i.e.*, of the full citizens) consisted in their being brought up alike, their partaking of the συσσίτια (or public meals), and their equal rights (ἰσονομία) at assemblies and elections, subject only to distinctions of age. It is only in reference to this that we can speak of a Spartan "democracy," because in the treatment of the Perioeci and Helots the exact opposite was seen.

beyond the range of my subject, I wish to show and explain how great is the difference between our past and present constitution, that none may think that, while I inquire into the errors of democracy with the most scrupulous accuracy, I say nothing about any noble or grand action with which it ought to be credited. What I have to say will be brief and not unprofitable to my hearers.

64. When we lost our fleet in [1] the Hellespont, and the city was overtaken by those terrible calamities, who of the older amongst us does not know that those who were called the popular party were ready to suffer anything rather than submit to dictation,[2] and thought it monstrous that anyone should see the city that had ruled the Hellenes subject to the rule of others, while those who supported the oligarchy were ready even to demolish the city walls and to submit to slavery? 65. who is ignorant that, at that time, when the people had control of affairs, we placed garrisons in the citadels of others,[3] but when the Thirty [4] took over the government, the enemy were in possession of ours: and that, during that time, the Lacedaemonians were our masters, but when the exiles,[5] after their return, had the courage to fight for freedom, and Conon was successful in a naval engagement,[6] ambassadors came from them offering the city the command of the sea? 66. And further—who is there of my contemporaries who does not remember that, while the democracy so beautified the city with temples and state edifices that even now strangers who come to

[1] At the battle of Aegospotami (B.C. 405), when Isocrates was thirty-two years old.

[2] During the siege of Athens before its capitulation to Sparta.

[3] *e.g.*, of the Megarians, when Callibius occupied the citadel with 700 men; cp. "Peace," § 92.

[4] The government of the Thirty Tyrants (B.C. 404-3), set up in Athens by Lysander.

[5] The supporters of the democracy under Thrasybulus.

[6] The battle of Cnidus (B.C. 394), which restored the naval supremacy of Athens.

visit us consider it worthy to rule not only the Hellenes, but the whole world, the Thirty plundered some of those buildings and neglected others, and sold for demolition for the sum of three talents the dockyards, upon which the city had spent no less than a thousand talents? 67. Nor, again, could one with justice praise their mildness more than that of the democracy. For, when they had taken over the government of the city, they put to death by decree fifteen hundred of the citizens without a trial, and compelled more than five thousand to flee to the Piraeus; whereas the others, after they were victorious and returned in arms, only put to death those who were chiefly responsible for the miseries of the city, but behaved towards the rest with such conspicuous fairness and regard for justice, that those who had banished them were no worse off than those who had returned from exile. 68. But the best and most undeniable proof of the moderation of the people is the following: those who remained in the city having borrowed a hundred talents from the Lacedaemonians to prosecute the siege of those who had occupied the Piraeus, a meeting of the assembly was held to discuss the repayment of the money; and, when many declared that it was not those who had been besieged, but the borrowers who ought to settle the claims of the Lacedaemonians, the people resolved to make the payment a public one. 69. By this decision they created such harmony amongst us, and so promoted the advancement of the city, that the Lacedaemonians, who in the time of the oligarchy almost every day dictated their orders to us, in the time of the democracy came to beg and beseech us not to allow them to be utterly destroyed.[1] The following, in a word, were the feelings by which each of the two parties[2] at Athens was actuated: the one claimed to rule its citizens and to serve its

[1] After their defeat by the Thebans at the battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371).

[2] *i.e.*, the supporters of oligarchy and democracy.

enemies; the other, to rule strangers and to live on terms of equality with its citizens. 70. I have mentioned this for two reasons: I wish to show, in the first place, that I am not in favour of oligarchies or privileges, but of a just and well-regulated constitution; and, in the second place, that even badly-constituted democracies are productive of fewer misfortunes than oligarchies, while those that are well conducted are superior to them owing to their being juster, more careful of the common interests, and more pleasant to those who live under them.

71. Someone may perhaps wonder what my intention is in trying to persuade you to adopt a different form of government from the one which has successfully accomplished so much, and why I have now so highly praised the democracy, and, when the caprice seizes me, change my tone and speak in terms of censure and reproach of the established order of things.

72. Now, in the case of individuals, I blame those who act rightly in a few cases but wrongly in many, and consider that they fall short of what is required of them; and, in addition, sternly rebuke those who, being descended from good and honourable men, show themselves only a little less dishonourable than those who surpass them in vice and far worse than their fathers, and I should recommend them to abandon their mode of life. 73. In regard to public affairs, also, I hold the same opinion; for I think we ought not to feel proud or congratulate ourselves if we have acted more in accordance with the laws than men who are infatuated and under the influence of some evil genius, but much rather to feel indignant and dissatisfied if we should show ourselves inferior to our ancestors; for it is their excellence, and not the evil conduct of the Thirty, that we must strive to emulate, especially since it belongs to us to be the best of all mankind. 74. I have expressed this thought not now for the first time; I have frequently done so before in the presence of

many. For I know that, just as in other countries there are found special products of fruits, trees, and animals in each, far superior to all others, so in like manner our country is able to produce and rear men not only most gifted in arts, acts, and words, but highly superior on the score of valour and virtue. 75. This we may justly conclude from the struggles which our ancestors sustained against the Amazons,[1] Thracians,[2] and all the Peloponnesians,[3] and from the dangers they underwent in the Persian Wars, during which, both unaided and together with the Peloponnesians, both on land and sea, they overcame the barbarians and obtained the meed of valour; in none of which efforts could they have succeeded, had they not been far superior in natural character.

76. Let no one, however, think that we of the present day deserve this eulogy; quite the contrary. For, in such expressions of opinion, praise is due to those who show themselves worthy of the virtue of their ancestors, blame to those who disgrace their noble birth by their own laziness and vice, which is just what we are doing; for the truth shall be told. For, although we had so noble a nature to start with, we did not preserve it, but have fallen into folly, confusion, and hankering after evil ways. 77. However, if I go on to rebuke what admits of rebuke, and to censure the present state of things, I am afraid I may stray too far from my subject. Concerning these things I

[1] The Amazons were a Scythian tribe of women, worshippers of Ares, whose daughters they were called, living in Western Asia, at Thermodon on the shores of the Black Sea. Theseus undertook a campaign against them and carried off their queen Hippolyta. They in return invaded Attica and were defeated.

[2] Eumolpus, the son of Poseidon, came with a Thracian colony to Attica, to assert his claim to it as his father's property, attacked the Athenians under Erechtheus, and was slain, together with his two sons.

[3] Against Eurystheus, king of the Argives (see "Panegyricus," § 54).

have spoken before,[1] and will do so again, if I do not succeed in persuading you to desist from your mistaken conduct. However, I will say a few words about the subject upon which I originally proposed to myself to speak, and then make way for those who may be desirous of giving you further advice concerning it.

78. If, then, we manage the state as we are doing now, we shall unavoidably take counsel, make war, live, do and suffer almost exactly the same as we did in the past and are doing now; but if we reform our constitution, it is obvious that, according to the same argument, the condition of affairs will be the same in our case as in our ancestors'; for from the same political conduct like and similar effects always result as a matter of necessity. 79. Wherefore, comparing the most important of them, we ought to take counsel which of them we must choose. Let us first consider the case of the Hellenes and barbarians, how they stood in regard to that government, and their relations towards us at the present time. For these races contribute in no small degree to our happiness, when they are as we would have them.

80. The Hellenes, then, had such confidence in those who directed the government at that time, that most of them voluntarily put themselves into the hands of the city;[2] while the barbarians, far from meddling in the affairs of Hellas, neither ventured by sea with their ships of war this side of Phaselis,[3] nor came down with their armies this side of the river Halys, but remained perfectly quiet. 81. Now, however, relations have so changed that the former detest the city, while the latter despise us. As to the hatred of the Hellenes, you have heard the generals'[4]

[1] In the "Peace," see § 49.

[2] After the Persian Wars, in the time of Aristides (see "Peace," § 76).

[3] See "Panegyricus," § 118.

[4] The "generals" (*στρατηγοί*) were a board of ten, who superintended military affairs at home, and were also charged with

own words; how the Great King is disposed towards us, is clear from the letters [1] which he himself sent.

82. Further, under the influence of that excellently ordered administration, the citizens were so trained to virtue that they did not injure one another, but fought and overcame all those who invaded their territory. With us it is quite the contrary; for we let no day pass without doing harm to one another, and have so neglected military matters that we cannot even bring ourselves to attend drill unless we receive pay. 83. And—what is most important of all—at that time none of the citizens was in want of the necessaries of life, nor, by asking alms from passers-by, brought disgrace upon the city, whereas now the needy outnumber the well-to-do; so that we ought freely to excuse them, if they take no thought for the interests of the state, but only consider whence they are to procure their daily bread.

84. It is because I think that, if we follow the example of our forefathers, we shall both be rid of these evils and become the saviours, not only of the city, but of all the Hellenes, that I have come forward to speak and have said what I have; do you then, weighing all this carefully, vote for whatever seems to you likely to prove most conducive to the welfare of the state.

looking after the safety of the country, and had the power of assembling the people.

[1] Referring to the threatening message sent by Artaxerxes Ochus in consequence of the help given to his revolted satrap Artabazus by Chares; see note on § 10.

ON THE PEACE.

The Oration on the Peace (or Symmachicus, as it is also called) is, like the Areopagiticus, 'a political pamphlet,' supposed to be spoken in the assembly. In B.C. 357 Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium revolted from Athens, leading to what is called the Social War, which was concluded two years later (about the middle of B.C. 355) by a treaty in which the independence of the revolted states was secured, and they were declared to be no longer members of the Athenian confederacy. Owing to the pressure put upon her by Persia, Athens had been the first to make proposals for peace.

The date of the speech is probably the first half of B.C. 355, before negotiations were commenced.

Isocrates begins by expressing the hope that, considering the importance of the occasion, the people will listen even to what is disagreeable for them to hear, if only it is likely to conduce to safety; he is in favour of allowing the members of the confederacy to sever themselves from it, and of accepting the proposals of their ambassadors, as this, far from putting Athens at a disadvantage in regard to Thebes, will cause her to be held in greater repute owing to her disinterestedness. Next, speaking more generally, he recommends Athens to make peace with all the world, and abandon her despotic command of the sea. Justice, he says, is more productive of advantage than injustice, as is proved by the example of their forefathers at the time of the Persian Wars, for it is they, not those who were engaged in the Decelean War, who are worthy of imitation. The empire of the sea is neither just, nor capable of being maintained, nor advantageous to the state. This he demonstrates from the history of Athens since the democracy degenerated, from the ruin which the command of the sea brought upon Sparta, from the history of monarchy generally, and lastly, from the example of the poverty-stricken Thessalians and the wealthy Megarians. He finally warns Athens not to listen to interested and self-seeking demagogues, but to treat the confederates in a friendly manner, to show herself warlike in training and equipments, but peaceful in avoiding injustice, and in dealing with those states that voluntarily espouse the cause of Sparta, like the kings of the latter state, who are far removed from tyrants; and ends by exhorting the younger citizens to compose and deliver speeches tending to the advancement of justice and virtue.

ON THE PEACE.

1. All who come forward to speak on this platform are in the habit of declaring that those things, upon which they themselves are going to give advice, are of the greatest importance and worthy of the most careful consideration on the part of the state; if, however, any subjects deserve to be introduced by such remarks, it seems to me fitting to commence with them in the present case. 2. For we are assembled to deliberate concerning war and peace, which exercise the greatest influence during the life of men, and those who counsel aright in regard to them necessarily fare better than the rest. So highly important are the subjects which we have met to discuss.

3. I am aware that you do not give an impartial hearing to those who address you, but that, while you pay attention to some, you cannot even endure the voice of others. And there is nothing surprising in this behaviour of yours; for on all other occasions it has been your custom to drive off the platform all except those who support your desires. 4. With this one might justly reproach you, that, while you know full well that many great families have been ruined by flatterers, and in private matters are full of hatred against those who follow this occupation, in public affairs you are not similarly disposed towards them, but, while you accuse those who welcome such people and take pleasure in their society, you are seen to place more confidence in them than in the rest of the citizens. 5. And the result is that you have made orators think and ponder, not about

what is likely to benefit the state, but how they shall deliver speeches that please you, into which class of compositions they have even now rushed in crowds. For it was obvious to all that you would be more pleased with those who encouraged you to war than with those who recommended peace. 6. The former create the expectation that we shall not only recover our property [1] in the different cities, but also regain the authority we formerly possessed; the latter, on the other hand, hold out no such false hopes, but bid you keep quiet and not, contrary to justice, desire great things, but be content with your present condition, the hardest thing of all for most people to do. 7. For we are so dependent upon hopes and are so insatiate in regard to apparent aggrandizement, that even those who are possessed of the greatest wealth are not willing to rest satisfied with it, but, ever greedy after more, run the risk of losing what they possess. And there is reason to fear that, at the present time, we too may be liable to the charge of similar foolishness. 8. For it seems to me that some are as excessively eager for war, as if they had heard, not from ordinary advisers, but from the gods, that we should succeed in all our undertakings and without difficulty overcome our enemies. Men of intelligence, however, ought not to deliberate about those matters as to which they are well informed—for that is superfluous—but to act in accordance with their resolutions; but, in regard to the subject of deliberation, they ought not to think that they know what will be the result, but ought to be so minded

[1] The reference is to the Cleruchies (κληρουχίαι), or assignments of land and houses in the countries of revolted and reconquered allies, such as Chalcis in Euboea. This had brought great odium upon the Athenians, and it was expressly insisted upon, when the Second Confederacy was formed, that no Athenian should possess land outside Attica. The orators who were in favour of war held out to the people as an inducement that they might thereby regain possession of their holdings.

concerning them, as if they had formed an opinion, but were ready for anything to happen that accident might bring. 9. You, however, do neither, but are most inconsistent. For you have assembled as if it were your duty to select the best of all the opinions expressed, but, as if you already knew for certain what you ought to do, are unwilling to listen to any but those who speak to afford you gratification. 10. Whereas you ought, if you were desirous of finding out what is to the interests of the state, to pay attention to those who oppose your views rather than to those who make themselves pleasant to you; for you know well that, of those who come forward here to speak, those who say what you wish them to are easily able to deceive you—for that which is spoken to please obscures your view of what is best—while from those who do not give advice with a view to pleasing you would have nothing of the kind to fear; 11. for it would be impossible for them to make you change your opinion, if they did not make it quite clear wherein your interest lay. Besides, how would men be able either to judge the past aright or to counsel prudently concerning the future, if they did not examine and compare the arguments of opposing speakers, and give an impartial hearing to both sides? 12. I am equally surprised that the older men amongst us no longer remember, and that the younger have never heard from anyone, that we have never yet suffered any harm through the advice of those who exhorted us to hold fast by peace, while we have often before now been involved in many serious misfortunes through those who lightly declared themselves in favour of war. However, we quite forget this, and are ready, although we thereby in no way promote our own interests, to man triremes, to impose extraordinary taxes[1] upon ourselves, and to assist and make war upon any chance persons, as if we were only imperilling the interests of a

[1] See note on § 20.

foreign city. 13. The reason of this is that, whereas it behoves you to display the same zeal on behalf of the general interests as on behalf of your own, you do not hold the same opinion concerning them, but, whenever you deliberate about your own affairs, you seek the advice of men whose judgment is superior to your own, while, whenever you assemble to discuss state affairs, you distrust and are jealous of such advisers, and, honouring and respecting the most depraved of those who mount the platform, consider the drunken [1] to be better friends of the people than the sober, the senseless than the intelligent, and those who distribute the state [2] money than those who perform the public services [3] for you at their own expense. Wherefore one may well be surprised at anyone who expects that the city, if it makes use of such advisers, will ever improve its position.

14. I know well that it is a perilous thing to oppose your views, and that, in spite of the democracy, there is no freedom of speech, except on this platform for the most foolish and for those who care nothing for you, and in the theatre for the comic poets; but the most monstrous thing of all is, that you show greater favour to those who publish [4] the faults of the city to the rest of the Hellenes than even to its benefactors, and display as much irritation towards

[1] In allusion to men like Eubulus, Callistratus, and Philocrates, who were reproached with leading profligate lives.

[2] With special reference to Eubulus, on whose initiative the state-money was distributed amongst the citizens to pay their admission to the theatre (the so-called Theoric fund), and who originated a decree which threatened anyone with death who proposed that this money should again be employed for military purposes. Others render, "who divide amongst themselves," *i.e.*, appropriate to their own use.

[3] These λειτουργίαι, or public services, were ordinary, such as the Choregia, Gymnasiarchia, Hestiasis, and Architheoria, and extraordinary, such as the Trierarchia.

[4] At the Dionysiac festival, when numbers of strangers visited Athens.

those who rebuke and admonish you as towards those who do the state an injury. 15. But nevertheless, in spite of this being the case, I will not abandon my purpose. For I have come forward, not with the intention of speaking to please you, nor of courting your votes, but to make known my views, first, concerning the proposals of the Prytaneis,[1] and next, concerning the other affairs of the state; for no benefit will result from our present resolutions about peace unless we counsel aright in regard to other things as well. 16. My opinion, then, is that we ought to make peace[2] not only with the Chians, Rhodians, and Byzantines, but with all the world, and to adopt, not the treaties which some have now proposed, but those which were concluded with the Great King and the Lacedaemonians, which prescribe that the Hellenes shall be independent, that the garrisons shall quit the foreign cities, and that each people shall occupy their own. For we shall not find any terms of peace either fairer or more advantageous to the state than these.

17. If, however, I leave off speaking at this point, I

[1] *i.e.*, concerning the question of war and peace. The *βουλή* or Senate of 500 was divided into ten sections called Prytaneis (*πρυτάνεις*), who succeeded one another throughout the year as the representatives of the whole body. Each section during its term of office assembled daily in its prytaneum or session-house to attend to its duties, which were those of summoning the popular assembly, preparing the measures which were to be submitted to the votes of the people, presiding over its deliberations, and giving leave to the orators to speak.

[2] Eubulus had proposed a peace which recognised the independence of the confederates, and to that extent was in agreement with the peace of Antalcidas. But the later proposals of peace only included such members of the confederacy as had been sufficiently powerful to carry on the Social War against Athens, such as Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium, leaving out Imbros, Lemnos, Samos, and several other islands. Isocrates here presses for a complete carrying out of the conditions of the peace of Antalcidas, and the abandonment of all such possessions.

know that I shall be thought to be weakening the state if the Thebans are to retain possession of Thespiae, Plataea, and the other cities which they have seized contrary to oath,[1] while we abandon those which we possess without any pressure of necessity; but if you will listen to me attentively to the end, I think you will all condemn as foolish and insane those who consider that injustice secures any advantage, and who occupy foreign cities by force without calculating the misfortunes which are the consequence of such conduct. 18. This I will endeavour to show you throughout the whole course of my speech. Let us, however, first discuss the question of peace, and consider what we should desire to happen to ourselves in the present circumstances. For if we prudently and intelligently settle these two points, keeping this principle in view, we shall take better counsel concerning the rest.

19. Should we not then be content to inhabit our city in safety, more abundantly provided with the necessaries of life, and to be in harmony amongst ourselves and enjoy good repute amongst the Hellenes? I for my part think that, with these advantages assured, the state will enjoy complete prosperity. It is the war[2] that has robbed us of all the blessings I have mentioned; for it has made us poorer, forced us to undergo many dangers, has made us odious in the sight of the Hellenes, and in all manner of ways has overwhelmed us with misfortune. 20. But if we conclude the peace, and behave in accordance with the provisions of our joint agreements, we shall inhabit our city in perfect safety, free from wars, dangers, and civil disturbance, in

[1] See note on "Archidamus," § 27. The other cities were such as Orchomenus and Oropus in Euboea. The Thebans had seized these cities contrary to the provisions of the peace of Antalcidas.

[2] The reference is to the Social War, in which Athens spent 1,500 talents to no purpose (cp. "Areopagiticus," §§ 10, 29). The poverty caused by it was so great, that it became necessary to propose special measures on behalf of state-debtors.

which we are now involved amongst ourselves, and shall advance day by day in prosperity, relieved of the burden of property-taxes,[1] trierarchies,[2] and all the other[3] public services of war, tilling the land without fear, sailing the sea, and engaging in all the other occupations which have now been interrupted by the war. 21. We shall see the city in receipt of twice its present revenues and full of merchants, strangers, and resident aliens,[4] by whom it is now deserted. And, what is most important of all, we shall have all men for our allies, not under compulsion but of their own choice, who will not, while they receive us in time of safety on account of our power, fall away from us in time of danger, but disposed towards us as befits true allies and friends. 22. Further, we shall easily be able to procure by negotiations what we cannot at the present time obtain by war conducted at great expense. For do not think that either Cersobleptes[5] or Philip will fight on

[1] The property-tax (*εἰσφορά*) was a special tax raised to meet war expenses, above all for providing pay for the soldiers. It consisted of about one-tenth of a person's income, but its constant recurrence, and the fact that property was often rated too highly, made it especially burdensome.

[2] After B.C. 358, the 1,200 richest citizens were divided into twenty classes, called Symmories (*συμμορίαι*), five or six members of which united to defray the expenses of equipping a ship; this was called *συντέλεια*.

[3] Such as voluntary contributions in money, arms, or ships (called *ἐπιδόσεις*), and even military service.

[4] The difference between strangers (*ξένοι*) and resident aliens (*μέτοικοι*) is that, while the former were only birds of passage, the latter took up their permanent abode in the city. They are supposed to have constituted fifty per cent. of the inhabitants. Each paid an alien tax (*μετοίκιον*) of twelve drachmae, and had to put himself under the protection of a citizen, and certain other duties were imposed upon them, to remind them that they were distinct from the citizens. They enjoyed the same private rights as the latter, but possessed no political rights, and could not hold any public office.

[5] Cersobleptes was the son of Cotys, the ruler of the country on

account of the Chersonese or Amphipolis,[1] when they see that we have no designs upon the territory of others; for at the present time they naturally fear to make our city the neighbour of their own kingdoms, 23. since they see that we are not content with what we have, but are ever eager for more; whereas, if we change our course of action, and gain a better reputation, they will not only withdraw from our territory, but will, in addition, bestow upon us part of their own; for it will be to their advantage to occupy their own kingdoms in security by courting the favour of our city. 24. Further, it will be in our power to secure a slice[2] of Thrace not only amply sufficient for ourselves, but large enough to enable us to provide adequate means of support to those of the Hellenes who are in need and are forced to lead a wandering life from lack of means. For, in a country in which Athenodorus[3] and Callistratus,[4] the one

the Thracian coast. When Athens became involved in the Social War, and her army left the Chersonese, Cersobleptes violated the treaty that had been concluded B.C. 358, and imperilled the hold of Athens upon the Chersonese. Two years after the end of the war, we find Athens in possession of it, and on friendly terms with Cersobleptes.

[1] Amphipolis, the well-known city on the Strymon, so long the bone of contention between Athens and Philip, was captured by the latter in B.C. 358. Hierax and Stratocles in vain asked the assistance of Athens. Philip pretended that he was not besieging the city for himself, but to restore it to the Athenians. When he failed to do this, the Athenians sent out Chares and commenced war against him.

[2] This took place in B.C. 353, when Chares took Sestos, which was colonized by the Athenians.

[3] Athenodorus was an Athenian, brother-in-law of the Thracian king Berysades. Nothing further is known of the town or colony here mentioned.

[4] Callistratus was one of the most famous of the Athenian orators and joint-commander with Chabrias and Timotheus. In B.C. 364 he was condemned to death, fled from Athens to Thrace, and from thence to Methone in Macedonia. Thence he sent to his step-brother Timomaches, who was commander of the Hellespont,

a private individual, the other an exile, have been able to found cities, surely we, if so minded, shall be able to gain possession of many places which offer similar opportunities. And those who lay claim to the headship amongst the Hellenes ought far rather to be the leaders of such enterprises than of war and mercenary forces, which at the present time happen to be the object of our desires.

25. In reference to the demands of the ambassadors,[1] I have said enough, although much more might be added; but I am of opinion that we ought not merely to vote for peace and then leave the assembly, but also to take counsel how we shall maintain it, and avoid acting as we are in the habit of doing—namely, allowing a brief interval to elapse, only to become involved again in the same embarrassments —and how we shall find not merely an adjournment of, but complete deliverance from our present evils. 26. But none of these advantages can be realized until you become convinced that peace is more useful and more profitable than meddlesomeness, justice than injustice, and the care of one's own than hankering after what belongs to others. No orator has ever yet ventured to speak before you on these subjects; but it is upon these very points that I am going to address most of my remarks to you; for I see that in them is contained a guarantee of prosperity, but not in our present course of action. 27. He who attempts to introduce anything out of the common into his harangues, and is desirous of inducing you to adopt new opinions, must touch upon a variety of subjects and speak at greater length, now reminding you of this, now blaming that, now praising this, now offering advice about that; for even with the aid of all this one would

begging him to send him the means to transport him to Thasos. After his arrival there, in conjunction with the Thasians, he re-founded Datos under the name of Crenidae, which it retained until its conquest by Philip, who re-named it Philippi.

[1] *i.e.*, the ambassadors of the confederates.

find it difficult to bring you to a more prudent frame of mind.

28. For the case stands thus. All seem to me to desire their own interests and to be eager to possess more than their neighbours, while they are ignorant of the course of action which conduces to this result, and entertain different views amongst themselves, some holding opinions that are sound and likely to reach the object in view, others such as completely fail to secure the desired end. 29. And this has been the case with our city. For we think that, if we sail the sea with many triremes, and compel the cities to pay contributions[1] and to send representatives[2] to us, we shall be doing right; whereas, in fact, we have been as far from the truth as possible. For none of our hopes have been realized, but instead, hatred, wars, and great expense[3] have resulted therefrom. 30. And naturally so; for even before,[4] in consequence of this meddlesomeness, we became involved in the greatest dangers, but when the state behaved with justice, assisting the wronged and not hankering after what belonged to others, the Hellenes voluntarily conferred the headship[5] upon us; all of which considerations we have now for a long time unreasonably and most thoughtlessly treated with contempt.

31. Some have reached such a pitch of folly that they have conceived the idea that, while injustice is certainly deserving of reproach, it is lucrative and profitable in daily

[1] See note on "Areopagiticus," § 2.

[2] In this Synedrium (or council of the allies), of which Athens was president and to which the individual members sent ambassadors, the votes of all were equal, although the position of Athens conferred upon her a predominating influence.

[3] Referring to the expenses o the war; see § 19.

[4] *e.g.*, when Athens attempted to extend her dominion over Sicily, an attempt which ended in the disastrous Sicilian expedition, which almost resulted in the annihilation of Athens.

[5] In the tim Aristides the Just, as he was called; cp. "Archidamus," § 42.

life, but that, on the other hand, justice, while certainly held in high esteem, is profitless and calculated to benefit anyone else rather than those who practise it; 32. whereas they do not understand that neither in regard to enrichment, nor reputation, nor a right course of action, nor happiness in general, would anything contribute such strong support as virtue and its component parts. For it is by means of the good qualities which we have in our inmost hearts that we obtain other advantages of which we stand in need; so that those who have no care for their own mind are, without knowing it, neglecting the means of acquiring better intelligence and greater prosperity than others. 33. And I am surprised that anyone should think that the reason why those who practise piety and justice continue and abide by them, is that they expect to come worse off than the wicked, and not rather that they expect that they will gain greater advantages than others both among gods and men. I am convinced that the first alone obtain really desirable advantages, the latter such as are less desirable; 34. for I see that those who prefer injustice and think it the greatest happiness to get possession of something belonging to others, resemble animals that are caught by a bait, at first deriving enjoyment from what they have gained possession of, but soon afterwards finding themselves in the greatest straits; while, on the other hand, those who live a life of piety and justice not only enjoy security in the present, but have pleasanter hopes in regard to eternity.[1] 35. And even if it does not happen so in all cases, at any rate in the majority of instances this is the result. Those who are wise, since we cannot always see what will be beneficial to us, must show that they choose that which is most frequently beneficial; but those are of all men in the most irrational frame of mind who, although they believe that justice is a more beautiful rule of conduct, and one

[1] For the opinions of Isocrates in regard to immortality, see "Philippus," § 134, "Panathenaicus," § 260.

more acceptable to the gods than injustice, notwithstanding think that those who practise it will live worse lives than those who have chosen evil ways.

36. I could wish that it were as easy to persuade one's hearers to practise virtue as it is fitting that it should be praised; but now I am afraid I am speaking to no purpose. For we have now for a long time been corrupted by men who can do nothing else but deceive, and who have conceived such contempt for the people, that whenever they are desirous of undertaking a war against others, they themselves, receiving money for their speeches, venture to say that we ought to imitate our ancestors and not allow ourselves to be laughed at, nor permit the sea to be open to those who are unwilling to furnish contributions.

37. I should like to hear from them which of our forefathers they advise us to imitate,—those who lived at the time of the Persian Wars or those who controlled the state before the Decelean[1] War? If the latter, they do nothing else but recommend us to again run the risk of being sold as slaves;[2] 38. if the former, those who overcame the barbarians at Marathon[3] and those who lived[4] before them, then are they the most shameless of all men if, while praising those who at that time controlled the state, they try to persuade us to act in a manner exactly opposite to them, and to commit such blunders that I am at a loss what to do, whether to tell the truth as I have

[1] After its eighteenth year the Peloponnesian War was called the Decelean, from the occupation of Decelea in Attic territory by the Lacedaemonians under the Spartan king Agis.

[2] After the crushing defeat of Athens by Lysander at Aegospotami, the Corinthians and Thebans, the sworn enemies of Athens, and the deputies of many other states, proposed that the city should be razed to the ground and its inhabitants sold into slavery.

[3] B.C. 490, in which the Persians were completely defeated by Miltiades, and compelled to withdraw into Asia.

[4] See "Panegyricus," § 75, and following sections.

done in other matters, or to keep silence, from fear of incurring your dislike.

I certainly think it is better to state my opinion about them, although I see that you are less favourably disposed towards those who rebuke you for your faults than towards those who have been the cause of your misfortunes. 39. However, I should be ashamed to appear to have more regard for my own reputation than for the general welfare. Accordingly, it is my duty, and that of all others who care for the interests of the state, to give the preference, not to the pleasantest, but to the most useful speeches; you, on the other hand, must in the first place reflect that, while for bodily ailments many and various methods of treatment have been discovered by physicians, for souls that are in a state of ignorance and full of evil desires there is no other remedy except the speech that ventures to rebuke errors; 40. and, in the next place, that it is absurd that, while we submit to cautery and the knife at the hands of physicians in order to obtain relief from greater sufferings, we should reject speeches before we know for certain whether they may not have the effect of benefiting those who listen to them.

41. I have made these preliminary remarks because I intend to address you on the remaining points without reserve and with perfect freedom. Who, I ask, coming hither from any other country, who had not yet been corrupted as we have, but had been suddenly brought upon the scene of action, would not think we were mad and bereft of our senses, seeing that, while we pride ourselves upon the deeds of our ancestors, and think it right to eulogize the state on account of the glorious deeds of their time, we follow their example in nothing, but in everything do just the contrary? 42. They lived in a state of perpetual war against the barbarians in the interests of the Hellenes: we removed from Asia[1] those who gained their

[1] Referring to the employment of Asiatic mercenaries against the confederates by Chares in the Social War.

livelihood from thence, and led them against the Hellenes; they, liberating and assisting the Hellenic cities,[1] were thought worthy of the headship: we, striving to reduce them to a state of servitude and acting differently from the men of those times, are indignant if we are not to be held in the same honour, 43. we who have fallen so far short of the men of those days in thought and deed that, while they had the courage to leave[2] their own country on behalf of the freedom of others and overcame the barbarians in battles both on land and sea,[3] we do not think fit to face danger even for our own advantage, but, although we seek to rule over all, 44. we are unwilling to take the field, and, while we undertake war, I may almost say against the whole world,[4] are at no pains to train ourselves for it, but fill our army with men partly homeless, partly deserters, and with others who have gathered together here in consequence of other vicious propensities, and who, if others were to offer them higher pay, would follow them against us. 45. But, notwithstanding, we are so enamoured of them, that, while we should not feel inclined to make ourselves responsible for our children, if they were to offend against others, when it is a question of these men's brigandage, violence, and offences against the law, in spite of the fact that the blame of their conduct will fall upon us, we are not only not indignant, but even rejoice when we hear that they have been guilty of some offence of this kind. 46. And we have reached such a pitch of folly that, although we lack the means for our daily support,[5] we

[1] By setting free the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor from the yoke of Persia.

[2] Cp. "Panegyricus," § 96.

[3] On land, at Marathon (B.C. 490) and Plataea (B.C. 479); on sea, at Salamis (B.C. 480) and Eurymedon (B.C. 465).

[4] Against Cotys in the Chersonese, Alexander of Pherae, Amphipolis, Euboea, Chios, Byzantium, and Potidaea (B.C. 362-355).

[5] At the commencement of the Social War there was great scarcity of corn, and this was just the time when the merce-

have undertaken to feed mercenaries, and maltreat and levy arbitrary contributions[1] from our own allies, in order to provide pay for the common enemies[2] of the whole world. 47. And we are so far inferior to our forefathers, not only to those who gained a good reputation,[3] but also to those who incurred hatred,[4] in that the latter, if they resolved upon war against anyone, though the citadel[5] was full of gold and silver, nevertheless thought it their duty to face danger in their own persons in support of what they had resolved, while we, who have fallen into such want and are so numerous,[6] employ hired soldiers like the King of Persia. 48. Besides, if at that time they were manning triremes, they put on board foreigners and slaves as sailors, but sent out citizens to serve as hoplites; whereas, at the present day, we employ foreigners as hoplites, and compel citizens to act as oarsmen, so that, when they land in the enemy's country, these men who claim the headship of the Hellenes disembark with their cushions under their arms, while those who are of the stamp we have just described enter the field in arms.[7]

49. If, however, anyone saw the domestic affairs of the state well managed, he might perhaps feel confidence in regard to other matters; but is it not just on this very point

naries were sent out against the allies. Cp. "Areopagiticus," §§ 53, 54.

[1] Such as the sixty talents extorted by Chares from the islanders at the conclusion of the war.

[2] The mercenaries, which even the Persian king forbade his satraps to keep.

[3] Those who lived at the time of the Persian Wars.

[4] Those who lived at the time of the Peloponnesian War.

[5] The public treasure was kept in the temple of Minerva on the Acropolis.

[6] At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War the 19,000 Athenian heavy-armed troops were composed, not entirely of citizens, but partly of resident aliens, but now the number of citizens amounted to 20,000.

[7] On this passage, cp. "Areopagiticus," § 54.

that he would feel the greatest indignation? for we, whose boast it is that we are children of the soil,[1] and that this city was founded before all others, and whose duty it is to be a model of good and orderly government to all, carry on our own administration worse and in a less orderly manner than those who have only just founded new cities. 50. It is our pride and boast that we are of nobler descent than others, but we are more ready to share this distinction of birth with any who desire it than the Triballians[2] or Leucanians[3] are to share their ignoble origin. Although we pass a large number of laws, we pay so little respect to them—if you listen to one instance, you will be able to judge of the rest—that, in a country where death is laid down as the penalty for anyone convicted of bribery,[4] we elect as generals those who are openly guilty of it, and intrust the conduct of the most important affairs to the man who has been able to corrupt the greatest number of citizens;

[1] The Athenians, as well as the Arcadians, Thebans, and Aeginetans, prided themselves on being autochthones (lit., children of the soil), meaning that the origin of their race was lost in the mists of antiquity. The mythical founders of Athens were Cecrops and Erechtheus.

[2] Such as the Rhodians and Plataeans, and foreign rulers like Teres, Cersobleptes, Evagoras, Dionysius of Syracuse, and others.

[3] Both these tribes are mentioned as being noted for their reserve and unsociability towards their neighbours. The Triballi, in Mysia, were only subdued by Philip after a hard struggle. The Leucanians, living on the Tarentine Gulf, were frequently at war with the Greek colonies.

[4] The Greek word for bribery (δεκασμὸς) of the dicasts or public assemblies is said to be derived either (1) from the dicasts assembling *in bodies of ten* in the neighbourhood of the court at the statue of Lycus (the hero and patron of justice, who was represented in the shape of a wolf), and receiving the money, or (2) from the tenth part of disputed property being offered to the dicasts. For both briber and bribed the penalty was death, or merely loss of civil rights (ἀτιμία), in proportion to the enormity of the offence. The special allusion here is to Chares, who, in spite of repeated offences of the kind, was elected time after time.

51. and, while we display as much anxiety about our constitution as about the welfare of the whole state, yet, although we know that it is in times of peace and security that democracy thrives and continues, and that it has already been twice [1] overthrown in time of war, we are as ill-disposed towards those who are desirous of peace, as if they were supporters of oligarchy,[2] while we are accustomed to consider those who urge us to make war as well-disposed as if they were devoted adherents of democracy.[3] 52. And, in spite of our great experience in speeches and public affairs, we are so devoid of reason, that we do not hold the same opinion about the same things for a single day, but, when we are met together, we vote for those very measures of which we disapproved before we came up [4] to the assembly, and shortly afterwards, when we have left the assembly, we again condemn the measures which have been passed here, and, while we pretend to be the wisest of the Hellenes, we take the advice of men whom everyone would look upon with contempt, and put the general control of affairs into the hands of those to whom no individual would intrust the conduct of any of his private business. 53. But the most deplorable thing of all is, that we consider those to be the most faithful guardians of the constitution whom we should all agree were the worst amongst the citizens; and, while we consider that resident aliens resemble those whom they take

[1] By the establishment of the rule of the 400 and of the Thirty Tyrants. That of the former, chiefly due to the advice of Antiphon the orator and Pisander, lasted only four months (from the end of B.C. 412 to the beginning of B.C. 411). The Thirty Tyrants were set up in B.C. 404 by the Spartans after the battle of Aegospotami; their reign only lasted eight months, and they were put down at the commencement of B.C. 403.

[2] Such as Timotheus (see "Antidosis," §§ 129, 130-139) and Phocion.

[3] Again with special reference to Chares.

[4] The public assemblies were usually held on the Pnyx, on the side of a low, rocky hill to the west of the city; hence the expression "to go up to the Ecclesia."

for their patrons,[1] we refuse to believe that in like manner we shall be held in the same estimation as those who govern us. 54. And we differ so widely from our ancestors that, while they appointed and chose the same men as directors of the state and generals,[2] considering that he who was competent to give the best counsel on the platform would also take the best course when left to himself, we do exactly the opposite. 55. For we do not think fit to elect as generals those whose counsel we adopt concerning affairs of the greatest importance, as if we considered them devoid of understanding; but send out with unlimited powers those whom no one would consult either upon his own or public affairs, as if they would display greater wisdom abroad, and would be better able to give advice concerning the affairs of Hellas in general than concerning what is proposed for discussion here. 56. These remarks are directed, not against all, but only against those who are open to the charges I have brought. But the remainder of the day would not suffice, if I were to attempt to criticize all the mistakes which have been committed in our management of affairs.

57. Perhaps someone of those who are most affected by what I have said may indignantly ask: "If we adopt such bad counsels, how is it that we not only escape the consequences but have succeeded in acquiring a power inferior to that of no other state?" To this I should answer, that we have adversaries not a whit more sensible than ourselves. 58. For if the Thebans, after the battle[3] in which they defeated the Lacedaemonians, had first freed Peloponn-

[1] Every resident alien (*μέτοικος*) was obliged to have a patron or protector (*προστάτης*); see § 21. The latter name was given to those who represented the interests of the Demos; see next section.

[2] As there were ten local tribes (*φυλαί*), so ten generals (*στρατηγοί*) were annually chosen, of whom as a rule only three took the field, since the others were required at home to look after the war-tax, trierarchia, and levying of troops.

[3] The battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371).

nesus[1] and made the others[2] independent, and then kept quiet, while we had committed such mistakes, he would not have been in a position to ask me such a question, and we should have recognised how much better moderation is than restless ambition. 59. But, at the present time, affairs have taken such a turn, that the Thebans protect us and we the Thebans; they procure allies for us and we for them;[3] so that, if we were wise, we should supply each other with money for the public assemblies; for those who assemble most frequently cause the affairs of their rivals to prosper. 60. But those who possess even small powers of reflection ought not to rest their hopes of safety in the blunders of their enemies, but in their own efforts and judgment; for the advantages which accrue to us from their ignorance might very easily cease and undergo a change, but those which are the result of our own exertions will be more secure and abiding.

61. It is easy to answer those who make such random attacks; but, if anyone of more sensible views were to come forward, and, while granting that I spoke the truth and was rightly dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, were to declare that those who reprove in a kindly spirit ought not only to complain of what has happened, but also to offer such advice as to what we ought to avoid and strive for, 62. that by its assistance we might abandon such opinions and avoid committing such mistakes,—such words might make me at a loss for an answer, not indeed for a true

[1] See "Archidamus," § 64.

[2] *i.e.*, the Boeotians; cp. § 115.

[3] Epaminondas gained over the members of the Athenian confederacy to the side of Thebes, and the Social War was in great measure due to him. After his death, however, Thebes was unable to maintain her position. Thus we find two parties in Euboea, one asking the help of Thebes, the other that of Athens, in which by turns Athens and Thebes held the upper hand. In like manner these two stood opposed to each other in the Phocian War.

and salutary one, but for one that would be agreeable to you. However, since I have commenced to speak without reserve, I must not shrink from declaring my opinion on this point as well.

63. I have already just stated the qualities necessary for those who would be prosperous—piety, moderation, justice, and all that goes to make up virtue; as for the means whereby we may most speedily be brought up to possess these qualities, what I am about to say is true, although perhaps it may seem dreadful to you when you hear it, and far removed from the general opinion. 64. I think that not only shall we manage our state better, but that we shall also be better ourselves, and shall be successful in all our undertakings, if we cease to desire the empire of the sea. For this it is which not only involves us in trouble at the present time, but which also overthrew that democracy,[1] under which our forefathers lived the happiest of the Hellenes, and has been the cause of nearly all the evils which we suffer ourselves and are preparing to inflict upon others. 65. Now I know that it is difficult for a man, when bringing charges against a supremacy which is eagerly desired by all, and has often been the subject of contention, to seem to express himself in a manner that will be tolerated; but notwithstanding, inasmuch as you have endured to listen to other words of mine, which, though true, were hateful to you, I beg you to receive these with the same indulgence, and not to condemn me as being so utterly devoid of sense, 66. as to have preferred to address you concerning matters so contrary to the general opinion, if I had not something true to say regarding them. I think, besides, that I shall make it clear to all, that the supremacy which we are anxious to obtain is neither just nor possible, nor even advantageous to us.

67. That it is not just, I can prove by the lessons I have

[1] The democracy established by Solon, and developed by Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, Cleisthenes, and Pericles.

learnt from yourselves. For, when the Lacedaemonians possessed the command of the sea, what words did we not expend in accusing their supremacy, and in striving to prove that justice required that the Hellenes should be independent? 68. and which of the cities of repute[1] did we not invite to join the confederacy which was formed[2] with this object? how many embassies[3] did we send to the Great King, to convince him that it was neither just nor expedient that one city should be mistress of the Hellenes? and we did not cease to carry on war and to expose ourselves to dangers both on land and sea,[4] until the Lacedaemonians showed themselves willing to come to an agreement regarding the independence of Hellas.[5] 69. Thus, both then, as now under our present constitution, we recognised the fact that it is contrary to justice that the stronger should rule the weaker.

Again, I think I shall easily be able to show that we should not even be able to get this supremacy into our own hands. For if we were unable to maintain it by the aid of ten thousand talents,[6] how should we be able to regain it in our present state of poverty, especially since our present conduct is that by which we lost it, not that by which we won it? 70. Lastly, that it would not even be for the advantage of the city to accept it, if it were offered, I think you will most readily learn from what I am going to say.

[1] Such as Argos, Corinth, Thebes, Euboea, the Locrians, Melians, Acarnanians, Chians, Mityleneans, and Byzantines. Only Tegea, Mantinea, Elis, Megara, Aegina, Phocis, and Orchomenus remained faithful to Sparta.

[2] The Corinthian league, formed with the object of freeing and bringing about the independence of individual states.

[3] Xenophon mentions only one, that of Conon and others, but says that later others were sent.

[4] On land, under Iphicrates; on sea, under Conon.

[5] Referring to the peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 387).

[6] "The largest amount of the public treasury in the time of Pericles was 9,700 talents of coined silver (Thuc. ii. 13), for which Diodorus and Isocrates inaccurately give 10,000."—BÖCKH.

But first I should like to say a few words on this point. For I am afraid that, by multiplying reproaches, I may appear to some to have deliberately made up my mind to accuse the city.

71. Now, if I were attempting to discuss affairs in this manner to others, I should justly be exposed to this charge; but, as it is, it is to you that I address myself, not desiring to bring you into ill-repute with others, but wishing to induce you to abandon your present course of action, and to secure the enjoyment of peace, which is the whole subject of discussion, to the city and the rest of the Hellenes. 72. Those who admonish and accuse must of necessity use similar words, while their views are as different as possible. Hence it does not always become you to hold the same opinion of those who say the same things, but to hate those who revile you with the object of doing harm, as ill-disposed towards the state, and to praise those who reprove you with the object of doing good, and to look upon them as best of the citizens, and, 73. amongst them, especially the man who is able to point out most clearly the faultiness of your conduct and the misfortunes resulting therefrom; for such a man would most speedily make you detest what you ought, and desire what is better. This is what I have to say to you about the apparent harshness of the words I have already uttered and of what I have to say further. I will now return to the point where I left off.

74. I asserted that you would most readily understand that it is of no advantage to you to obtain the command of the sea, if you were to consider what was the condition of the state before it gained this supremacy and afterwards. For if you draw a mental contrast, you will see what misfortunes it has brought upon the state.

75. The system of government at that time was better and more powerful than that which was subsequently established, in proportion as Aristides, Themistocles, and

Miltiades were better men than Hyperbolus,[1] Cleophon,[2] and the demagogues of the present time; you will find that the people, who then had the management of affairs, were not given up to idleness, want, and vain hopes, 76. but were able to overcome in battle all those who invaded their territory, and were thought deserving of the meed of valour[3] in their struggles on behalf of Hellas, and were regarded with such confidence that most of the cities voluntarily put themselves under their protection.[4] 77. In this condition of affairs, this power, in place of the constitution that met with the approval of all, brought us to a state of licentiousness such as no one could commend; and, instead of the citizens overcoming those who took the field against them, it brought them up in such a manner that they had not even the courage to go out to meet the enemy in front of the walls;[5] 78. and, in place of the goodwill with which they were regarded by the allies and the reputation they enjoyed amongst the rest of the Hellenes, it caused us to be so detested that the city only escaped being reduced to slavery,[6] because we found the Lacedaemonians, our original enemies, more kindly disposed towards us than

[1] Hyperbolus, a lampmaker, and famous Athenian demagogue; he was banished (B.C. 417) during the party struggle between Nicias and Alcibiades, owing to the disgrace he brought upon the state; he was eventually slain (B.C. 411) by the Athenian and Samian oligarchs (Thuc. viii. 73).

[2] Cleophon, a Thracian cheesemonger, one of the most influential demagogues during the last period of the Peloponnesian War. After the defeat of the Lacedaemonians by Alcibiades at Cyzicus (B.C. 410) he caused the Athenians to reject proposals of peace. He is said to have done the same after the battles of Arginusae (B.C. 406) and Aegospotami (B.C. 405).

[3] After the battles of Artemisium and Salamis.

[4] In B.C. 477, when the allies, offended by the haughtiness of the Spartans, offered the supremacy to Athens.

[5] This happened during the Peloponnesian War on the advice of Pericles, that the war might be carried on rather by sea than by land, as giving the Athenians a better chance of success.

[6] See note on § 37.

those who were formerly our allies.[1] 79. Certainly we could not with justice reproach them for the anger they showed against us; for they had not been the aggressors, and it was only in self-defence, after they had suffered grievous wrongs at our hands, that they came to entertain such feelings towards us. For who could have endured the brutal insolence of our fathers, who gathered together the greatest idlers from the whole of Hellas, men steeped in every kind of villainy, and manned their triremes with them, thereby earning the hatred of the Hellenes, while they drove out the most respectable of the inhabitants[2] of the other cities, and distributed their property[3] amongst the vilest of the Hellenes? 80. However, if I were to venture to go through in detail all that took place when affairs were in that condition, while I might possibly induce you to take better counsel in regard to the present, I should myself incur your dislike; for it is your custom to hate, not those who are responsible for blunders so much as those who rebuke them. 81. Since, then, you hold such opinions, I am afraid that, if I try to do you good, my reward will be a poor one. However, I will not altogether abandon my intention, but, omitting the most grievous reproaches, and such as would be most likely to cause you pain, I will only mention those facts which will help you to understand the folly of those who conducted the affairs of the state at that time. 82. For they were so careful to find out the means whereby men most incur hatred, that they passed a resolution to divide the surplus of the state revenues into talents,[4] and to bring it into the orchestra at

[1] *i.e.*, the Thebans. After the battle of Oenophyta (B.C. 456), in which Myronides gained a brilliant victory over the Thebans, the Athenians became masters of Boeotia.

[2] *i.e.*, the oligarchical or aristocratical party.

[3] Thus at Samos (Thuc. viii. 21) the oligarchy was put down, the democracy restored, and the property of the Geomori distributed amongst the democrats.

[4] This theatre-money (*θεωρικὸν*) was distributed in an assembly

the Dionysia, when the theatre was full of spectators. And, while acting in this manner, they also introduced the children of those who had fallen in battle,[1] exhibiting to both parties, on the one hand to the allies the value of their property that was brought in by hired servants, on the other hand to the rest of the Hellenes the number of orphans and the misfortunes resulting from this ambition. 83. And while they acted in this manner, they boasted of the prosperity of the state, and a number of foolish people offered their congratulations to it, not taking count beforehand what would be the result, but admiring and envying the wealth which had unjustly accrued to the state and was, in addition, soon to destroy that which belonged to it by right. 84. For in their neglect of their own, and their craving for what belonged to others, they had reached such a pitch of indifference, that, although the Lacedaemonians had invaded the country and the wall at Decelea[2] had already been raised, they equipped triremes for Sicily,[3] and were not ashamed to allow their country to be ravaged and plundered before their eyes, while they sent out an army

of the people, held in the theatre before the beginning of the Dionysiac festival. The lessee of the theatre naturally only returned a small portion of the receipts. Small sums were also given on other festive occasions, when there were no performances in the theatre; and if (as Böckh estimates) the expenditure for every holiday amounted to a talent, it is clear that the *θεωρικὸν* must have swallowed up the money destined for warlike and civil purposes, since such holidays were very numerous.

[1] At the Dionysia it was the custom for the children of those who had fallen in war (who were brought up at the state expense until the age of eighteen) to be brought into the theatre in full armour by heralds. Then the state publicly, so to speak, washed its hands of them, and sent them forth to go their own way, and do their duty, conferring upon them the right of a place of honour (*προεδρία*) in the public assembly, theatre, and other public meetings.

[2] See note on § 37.

[3] Referring to the despatch of large reinforcements under Demosthenes and Eurymedon to Sicily (B.C. 413).

against those who had never yet done us any injury, 85. and their folly was so great that, although they were unable to keep possession of their own suburbs,[1] they expected to be able to obtain the mastery over Italy, Sicily, and Carthage. They so outdid all men in folly that, while others are rendered humbler and more prudent by misfortunes, they did not even learn the lessons which they taught. 86. And yet, while their supremacy lasted, they were involved in more and greater calamities than had ever befallen the state. Two hundred triremes that set sail for Egypt[2] were sunk with their crews, and a hundred and fifty off Cyprus;[3] and at Datus[4] they lost ten thousand of their own hoplites and of the allies, forty thousand men and two hundred and forty triremes in Sicily, and, lastly, two hundred in the Hellespont.[5] 87. And who could reckon up the triremes which were lost by fifteens and more, and the men who fell in battle by thousands and two thousands? In brief, public burials were a regular yearly occurrence, which many of the neighbouring peoples and the rest of the Hellenes attended, not to lament for the dead with us, but to gloat together over our calamities. 88. At last, without knowing it, they filled the public burial-places[6] with the

[1] Decelea was only 120 stadia distant from Athens, and could be seen from it.

[2] In B.C. 463 Inarus, king of some Libyan tribes in the west of Egypt, revolted from Persia, and asked the aid of an Athenian fleet of 200 sail that was lying off Cyprus. By its aid the Persians were defeated. The Athenians afterwards besieged Memphis up the Nile for five years, but without success. Being then pressed by a more numerous army, they were forced to abandon the siege, and were surrounded on an island in the Nile called Prosopidis. The Athenians then burnt their ships, and the crews returned home across Africa, having suffered very great loss.

[3] Referring to the campaign of Cimon against that island (B.C. 450).

[4] Datus, a Thracian town on the Gulf of Strymon.

[5] At the battle of Aegospotami.

[6] Those who had fallen in battle were honoured with a public

citizens, and the lists of the tribes and the state registers [1] with those who had nothing to do with the state. From this one would most readily judge of the number of those who perished; for we shall find that the families of the most famous citizens and the most important houses, which passed safely through the struggles against the despots [2] and the Persian War, have become extinct during the period of that very supremacy which we still so eagerly desire. 89. And if one were willing to investigate the case of the other families, referring to this as an example, it would be evident that we are almost entirely a new people. And yet we ought not to consider that state fortunate which gathers together indiscriminately a number of citizens from the whole world, but rather one that preserves the stock of its original founders more than others; nor, again, ought we to envy men who hold absolute sway and have acquired greater power than is right, but rather those who, while deserving of the highest distinction, content themselves with the authority conferred upon them by the people. 90. No individual, no city, could obtain a more important, a more secure, or a more estimable position than this. Those who attained to it, during the times of the Persian War, did not live like freebooters, at one

burial in the Outer Ceramcicus, a suburb on the north-west of Athens, and a panegyric pronounced over them by some public man. The funeral oration of Pericles (Thuc. ii. 35) is the best known specimen of a λόγος ἐπιτάφιος.

[1] The φρατρίαι, originally divisions of the old tribes (φυλαί), on the suppression of the latter, remained in existence as religious associations. They possessed no religious importance, except that the sons (by birth or adoption) of a citizen had to be enrolled in the register of φράτορες, or members of the φρατρία of their natural or adoptive father. The state register (ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον) was the book in which were entered the names of all the citizens above the age of eighteen, when they acquired the right of managing their property and taking their place and speaking in the public assembly.

[2] Referring to the expulsion of the Pisistratidae from Athens (B.C. 510).

time having more than they needed, at another in a state of famine, siege,[1] and the greatest distress; but, while in regard to their means of daily support they had neither too little nor too much, they prided themselves on the fairness of their government and their own good qualities, and passed their life more pleasantly than the rest of mankind. 91. But those who came after them, paying no heed to this, were desirous of absolute power, rather than of legitimate authority, two things which apparently have one and the same meaning, but are in reality separated by a vast interval; for it is the duty of legitimate sovereigns to make those who are their subjects happier by their care for their welfare, while it is the established practice of despots to procure gratification for themselves by the labours and sufferings of others; further, those who lay themselves out for such behaviour must unavoidably fall into the misfortunes that beset despots, and suffer what they themselves inflict on others. 92. And this is just what befell our state; for, instead of being in occupation of the strongholds of others, they had to look on and see the enemy in possession of their own;[2] and, instead of dragging the children of others from the arms of their parents as hostages,[3] many of the citizens were compelled, during the siege, to educate and bring up their own children with less attention than they required, and, instead of tilling the lands of others,[4] for many years[5] they had not even the chance of seeing their own. 93. If, therefore, anyone were

[1] At the time when Decelea was occupied by Sparta, and Athens was hemmed in both by sea and land.

[2] During the time of the Thirty Tyrants, when, at their request, a garrison was sent from Sparta under the harmost Callibius.

[3] Thus Pericles took fifty of the most prominent Samians and sent them to Lemnos, and Iphicrates handed over some of the Amphipolitans to Charidemus.

[4] An allusion to the cleruchies; see note on § 6.

[5] From B.C. 413 to B.C. 404, *i.e.*, from the occupation of Decelea by Sparta until the capture of Athens.

to ask us, whether we should like to rule for so long a time, and afterwards to see the city enduring such misfortunes, who would say yes, except he were utterly senseless, and had no thought for things sacred, for parents or children, or for anything else, but the period of his own life? Such sentiments are not worthy of emulation, but rather those of men who exhibit great forethought and are as jealous of the public reputation as of their own, and who prefer a moderate competency justly gained to great wealth acquired unjustly. 94. For those forefathers of ours,[1] who showed themselves to be men of this character, both handed over the city in a state of the greatest prosperity to those who came after them, and left behind them an undying memory of their own excellence. From this we may easily learn two things: that our country is able to rear better men than others, and that what is called supreme power is really misfortune, and has a natural tendency to cause the deterioration of those who are invested with it.

95. The most convincing proof is this: it has not only ruined us, but also the Lacedaemonians, so that those who are accustomed to praise their excellent qualities cannot assert that we have mismanaged our affairs by reason of our democratical constitution, and that, if the Lacedaemonians had obtained the same power, they would have made themselves and everyone else prosperous. For it displayed its true character in their hands far more rapidly than in ours; it brought it to pass that a state which, during seven hundred years,[2] no one ever saw shaken by danger or calamity, was in a short time[3] violently convulsed and almost utterly destroyed. 96. For, in place of the mode of life established amongst them, it filled indivi-

[1] *i.e.*, those who lived during the time of the Persian Wars.

[2] From the time of Eurysthenes and Procles (B.C. 1072) to the battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371).

[3] The Spartan supremacy only lasted thirty-four years, not half so long as the Athenian.

dual citizens with a spirit of injustice, indolence, lawlessness and avarice, and the state in general with a spirit of contempt for its allies, desire of the property of others, and neglect of oaths and agreements. For they so far went beyond us in their outrages against the Hellenes, that, in addition to what had taken place before, they introduced murder and sedition[1] into the different cities, whereby they excited a hatred towards one another that will never be forgotten. 97. And they had become so fond of war and danger, they who, on all other occasions, had shown themselves more cautious than the rest in regard to such matters, that they did not even spare their allies or their benefactors, but, although the Great King[2] gave them more than five thousand talents to carry on the war against us, while the Chians[3] more readily than all the other allies shared the danger with their navy, 98. and the Thebans assisted them with a very large land force, no sooner had they gained the supremacy, than they immediately proceeded to plot against the Thebans,[4] sent Clearchus[5] with an army against the King, drove the chief citizens of the Chians into exile, and, launching the triremes from the docks, seized them and went off with them.[6] 99. Not

[1] See "Panegyricus," § 110, and following sections.

[2] Tissaphernes and Cyrus.

[3] The Chians remained most loyal to Sparta throughout the Peloponnesian War, supplying them with money and more ships than anyone else.

[4] Referring to the seizure of the Cadmea or citadel of Thebes by the Spartan Phoebidas (B.C. 382). It was treacherously betrayed to him by Leontiades, the leader of the oligarchical party.

[5] Cyrus the Younger, satrap of the maritime districts of Asia Minor, rebelled against his elder brother Artaxerxes. The Lacedaemonians sent ships and men to assist him under Cheirosophus. The command of these and auxiliaries from other parts of Greece was intrusted to the Spartan Clearchus, who was at the time in exile at the court of Cyrus. The whole expedition is the subject of Xenophon's "Anabasis."

[6] This was done by Lysander, after the battle of Aegospotami.

satisfied with these misdeeds, at the same time they plundered the mainland,[1] ill-treated the islands,[1] put down the republics in Italy and Sicily[2] and set up despots, overran Peloponnesus and filled it with party strife and war. What state was there against which they did not take the field? or which of them was not shamefully treated by them? 100. Did they not rob the Eleans[3] of portion of their territory, ravage the land of the Corinthians,[4] disperse the Mantineans[4] in different villages, take the citadel of the Phliasians by storm, and invade the country of the Argives,[4] never ceasing to ill-treat others until they made ready for themselves the defeat at Leuctra, which some falsely declare has been for Sparta the origin of all her misfortunes? For it was not in consequence of that disaster that they incurred the hatred of their allies, but by reason of their arrogant behaviour in former times they were both defeated in this battle and were in danger of losing their own territory. 101. One must not lay the blame of misfortunes upon the events that follow them, but upon the original errors which have contributed to bring about such results; one would therefore be far more correct in asserting that the first misfortunes of the Spartans began

[1] Referring to the campaigns of Dercyllidas (B.C. 398).

[2] By re-establishing the oligarchies.

[3] They sent Aristo to Dionysius to support his despotism and to oppress the Greeks in Sicily; in Italy Croton lost its independence, and Rhegium its constitution.

[4] On various pretexts the Spartans made war upon Elis (B.C. 401); the latter was defeated by Agis, and compelled to accept a humiliating peace; the territory of Corinth was ravaged by Agesilaus, Mantinea destroyed by Agesipolis (B.C. 383), and its inhabitants distributed amongst the four villages out of which they had collected into the capital; Phlius had been compelled (B.C. 384) by the Spartans to recall the exiled oligarchs who, a few years later, considering themselves aggrieved, again solicited Spartan aid; Agesilaus then marched against it and, after a siege of a year and eight months, captured it. The territory of Argos was ravaged by Agesilaus.

at the time when they first acquired the mastery of the sea; for they thereby obtained a power which in no way resembled that which they had formerly possessed. 102. By their supremacy on land, their good discipline, and the steadfastness they constantly exhibited therein, they without difficulty gained command of the sea as well, but through the license that was thereby engendered in them they were speedily deprived even of their superiority on land. For they no longer observed the laws handed down to them by their forefathers, nor remained faithful to their former habits, but, thinking that they could do whatever they liked, became involved in great embarrassment. 103. For they did not know how difficult it is to manage that uncontrolled power to which all aspire, nor that it deprives those of their senses who are enamoured of it, and that in its nature it resembles women of loose character, who lure men on to love them, and ruin those who have anything to do with them. 104. And yet it has been clearly proved that it has this effect; for anyone can see that those who have been invested with the fullest powers have become involved in the greatest calamities, beginning with ourselves and the Lacedaemonians. For as soon as these two states, which were formerly managed most prudently and enjoyed the highest reputation, obtained this power and the command of the sea, they fared the same; and, as is natural in the case of those who have been corrupted by the same desires and the same disease, they put their hand to the same undertakings, committed almost the same blunders, and at last became involved in the same calamities. 105. For as we, having incurred the hatred of our allies and in danger of being carried away into slavery, were saved by the Lacedaemonians, so they, when all desired to destroy them, fled for refuge to us,[1] and were saved by us. How then could anyone praise such a supremacy, which leads

[1] After the battle of Leuctra, when Sparta was in danger of ruin, the Athenians sent 12,000 men under Iphicrates to their assistance.

to such disastrous results? Should not we much rather hate and shun it, seeing that it has incited both states to commit many fearful deeds and has constrained them to undergo such cruel misfortunes?

106. And we ought not to be surprised that before now no one has observed that it was the cause of so many evils to those who possessed it, or that it has been the subject of contention between ourselves and the Lacedaemonians; for you will find that the majority of mankind make mistakes in their choice of things, and that they are more eager after what is harmful than what is profitable, and take better counsel on their enemies' behalf than on their own. 107. This we may see in the most important transactions: or rather, when did it ever happen otherwise? did we not prefer to act in such a manner that the Lacedaemonians thereby became masters of the Hellenes, while they managed their affairs so inefficiently that, not many years after, we again got the upper hand[1] and became the arbiters of their safety? 108. did not the restless ambition of the partisans of Athens cause the cities to take the side of Sparta, and did not the arrogance of the supporters of Laconia force those same cities to espouse the cause of Attica? did not the people itself, owing to the vicious character of the popular orators, long for the oligarchy of the Four Hundred,[2] and, owing to the frenzy of the Thirty,[3] did we not all become more devoted supporters of democracy than those who had occupied Phyle? [3] 109. And even in the case of affairs of less importance and the

[1] The result of the victory of Conon off Cnidus (B.C. 394), which alienated all the Asiatic towns and islands from Sparta, and enabled the Piraeus and the walls of Athens to be rebuilt with Persian gold.

[2] See Isocrates, "On the Team of Horses," § 5, and Thuc. viii. 70-72, for the government of the 400; and for the Thirty, "Panegyricus," § 112, "Areopagiticus," § 65, "Callimachus," § 17.

[3] Phyle, a small border fortress in Attica, which was seized by Thrasybulus (who left his place of refuge in Thebes, accompanied by Ismenias the Theban), and the Thirty eventually driven out.

events of daily life it would be easy to show that most men prefer such kinds of food and occupation as harm body and soul, but look upon that whereby both would be benefited as troublesome and inconvenient, and consider those who hold fast thereby to be laborious toilers. 110. Seeing, then, that men evidently prefer what is worse in the circumstances of their daily life, to which they naturally pay most attention, how can we be surprised if they know nothing about the empire of the sea, and contend with one another for that which it has never yet occurred to them to investigate?

111. Look at the monarchies which are established in different states, how many admirers they have, and how many are ready to undergo anything in order to obtain them. Yet what perils and troubles are there which are not attached to them? As soon as they have got power into their hands, do they not find themselves involved in such misfortunes, 112. that they are forced to make war upon all their fellow-citizens, to hate those at whose hands they have suffered no wrong, to distrust their friends and companions, and to confide the protection of their persons to hirelings whom they have never even seen, and yet are not a whit less afraid of those who protect them than of those who conspire against them, and are so suspicious of all that they do not even approach their nearest relatives with a feeling of security? 113. And naturally so; for they know well that of those who have been despots before them some have been put out of the way by their parents,[1] others by their children,[2] others by their brothers,[3] others by their wives,[4] and that, in addition, their family has soon become extinct. But, notwith-

[1] Alexander II. of Macedon was murdered by his mother.

[2] Cyrus dispossessed his grandfather Astyages of his throne.

[3] Polydorus murdered his brother Jason, despot of Pherae in Thessaly.

[4] Alexander of Pherae was murdered by his wife Thebe.

standing, they voluntarily submit to such numerous misfortunes. When those who hold the highest positions and enjoy so great a reputation are enamoured of such calamities, how can we be surprised if others desire the like? 114. I quite feel that, while you are ready to listen to what I say about despots, my remarks about supremacy are irritating for you to hear, for you have fallen into a most disgraceful and careless frame of mind; what you see in others, you ignore in your own case. And yet this is not the least important indication of a sensible frame of mind, to be able to judge the same things on the same principle in all similar cases. 115. You have never yet paid any heed to any of these things, but, while you consider despotism to be evil and injurious, not only for those who are subject to it, but also to those who possess it, you look upon the empire of the sea as the greatest of blessings, which does not differ from monarchy either in its actions or in the misfortunes it entails. And while, in the case of the Thebans, you consider their position to be dangerous because they oppress their neighbours, you yourselves behave no better in your dealings with your allies than they do in regard to Bœotia, and, notwithstanding, think that in everything you are behaving in accordance with sound political principles. 116. If, then, you will listen to me, you will cease to take counsel altogether at random, and will bestow your attention upon yourselves and the state, and will carefully consider everything and inquire what it is that put these two cities, ours and that of Sparta, each of them starting from humble beginnings, at the head of the Hellenes, and then, when they had acquired a power that none could surpass, brought them within danger of slavery; 117. and, further, you will inquire the reasons why the Thessalians,[1] although they

[1] The Thessalians were renowned for their wealth, due to their gold and silver mines, and extravagance. The beauty of the Vale of Tempe is famous.

inherited such great wealth, and occupy so fertile and extensive a district, have been reduced to want,[1] while the Megarians,[2] who had little or nothing to start with, who possessed neither land, harbours, nor mines, but cultivated bare rocks, now own the finest houses of all the Hellenes; 118. and why it is that foreigners are always successively in occupation of the fortresses of the Thessalians,[3] although they have more than three thousand cavalry and vast numbers of light infantry, while the Megarians, with the small force that they possess, manage their country[4] as they please; and what, lastly, is the reason that, while the Thessalians are continually at war amongst themselves, the Megarians, although they dwell surrounded by Peloponnesus, Thebes, and Attica, pass their time in peace. 119. If you reflect upon these and similar facts, you will find that license and pride produce misfortune, while prosperity is the result of moderation and restraint; but, while you approve of the latter in the case of individuals, and are of opinion that those who practise it enjoy the most complete security and are the best of the citizens, you do not consider that you need organize the state in such a manner. 120. And yet states, much more than individuals, ought to practise virtues and avoid vices. For an irreligious and vicious man may possibly die before he pays the penalty of his misdeeds, but cities, since they never die, sooner or later have to suffer the punishment of their offences at the hands of gods and men.

[1] Owing to the disturbances caused by the tyranny of rival despots, and the uprisings of the Penestae (the original inhabitants), which rendered them an easy prey to the Macedonians.

[2] The Megarians were proverbially of no account, and their soil was more barren than that of Attica.

[3] The fortress of Larissa was occupied by the Macedonians under Alexander II. and by the Thebans under Pelopidas.

[4] After its revolt from Athens, Megara joined Sparta, and appears to have enjoyed internal independence.

121. Bearing this in mind, we ought not to listen to those who, while they seek to please for the moment, take no thought for the future, nor to those who profess to love the people, but are the ruin of the whole state; even as in former times, when men of this character obtained the mastery of the platform, they brought the country to such a state of folly that it underwent the sufferings which I explained to you a little while ago. 122. And there is one thing that would create the greatest surprise of all, to see you electing as leaders of the people, not men animated by the same spirit as those who made the city great, but men who, in words and deeds, resemble those who ruined it; and this although you are aware that good citizens not only differ from bad in rendering the state prosperous, 123. but that the democracy, in the time of the former, for many years[1] was neither shaken nor altered, while in the time of the latter it has been already twice put down,[2] and that those who were exiled by the tyrants[3] and in the time of the Thirty were restored, not by mercenary adventurers, but by the aid of those who hated such people and enjoyed the greatest reputation for virtue. 124. But, although so much has been left to remind us how the state fared under good and bad guidance respectively, we take such pleasure in the depravity of our orators that, although we see that many of the citizens have lost their patrimony, and that those have become rich who were formerly poor, by reason of the war and trouble they have caused, we neither feel indignation, 125. nor are we indignant at their good fortune, but allow the state to be reproached with oppressing and exacting tribute from the Hellenes, of which they reap the

[1] From the time of Cleisthenes (B.C. 510) to the Peloponnesian War.

[2] See note on § 51.

[3] The Pisistratidae. Cleisthenes brought back those banished by them, and restored the democracy.

fruits, and suffer the people, who, as they assert, ought to rule the rest, to be in a worse plight than those who are subject to the rule of an oligarchy, while those who had no property to start with have raised themselves from the most humble circumstances to great prosperity owing to our folly. 126. And yet Pericles, who was a popular leader before these men's time, who took over the conduct of the state when it was in a less sensible frame of mind than before it obtained the supremacy, but yet was tolerably well conducted, was not eager for his own enrichment, but left a smaller fortune than that which he had received from his father,[1] and carried up to the Acropolis eight thousand talents,[2] exclusive of the sacred treasures.[3] 127. But these men so little resemble him in behaviour, that they have the audacity to assert that, owing to their anxiety for the public interests, they are unable to attend to their own affairs; whereas the latter, which are supposed to be so neglected, have improved to an extent they would not previously have even ventured to entreat from the gods, while we, for whom they profess to care, are all in such a condition that none of the citizens is able to live enjoyably or quietly, but the city is full of lamentations. 128. Some are obliged to tell the story of their poverty and want and to bewail it amongst themselves, others to deplore the number of arbitrary imposts, public services,[4] the burdens of the navy boards[5] and exchanges[6] of property, which

[1] When Archidamus ravaged the Athenian estates, and only spared that of Pericles, the latter is said to have made a present of his property to the people, to avoid the suspicion of being in collusion with the enemy.

[2] In Thuc. ii. 13, Pericles reckons the amount at 6,000 in coined silver and 9,700 talents in all.

[3] These consisted of Persian spoils, golden statues of the gods, and costly offerings in the temples.

[4] See § 20.

[5] For the Symmories see note on § 20.

[6] When any Athenian citizen was selected to carry out one

cause such inconvenience that those who are possessed of means live a more disagreeable life than those who are in a state of continual poverty. 129. I wonder that you cannot see at a glance that no class is more ill-disposed towards the people than vicious orators and demagogues. For, in addition to your other misfortunes, they are especially desirous that you should be in want of the necessaries of daily life, since they see that those who are able to support themselves out of their own means are attached to the state and to those who give the best advice, 130. while those who live on the law-courts [1] and popular assemblies [2] and the income derived therefrom, are compelled by their need to depend upon *them:* [3] and feel themselves most deeply indebted to impeachments [4] and indictments [5] and all the other sharp practices [6] of which they are the instigators; 131. so that they would be glad to see all the citizens in distress, which gives them the mastery. The most convincing proof of this is, that they do not consider how

of the leitourgiai (or public services) he was at liberty to call upon one whom he thought richer than himself either to take his place or to exchange properties with him. This exchange of properties was called *ἀντίδοσις* (consult Demosthenes, "Leptines"). Isocrates himself was involved in a dispute of this kind.

[1] See note on "Areopagiticus," § 54.

[2] The pay for attending the popular assembly (*μισθὸς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς*) was introduced in the time of Pericles, but not by him. It was at first one obolus, but was increased to three by Agyrrhius. The object of it was to indemnify the citizens for the loss of time caused by attending the assembly.

[3] Since it was in the power of the demagogues to increase the number of the lawsuits.

[4] An impeachment (*εἰσαγγελία*) took cognizance of offences directly against the state, besides smaller matters.

[5] Indictments (*γραφαί*) were called public (*δημοσίαι*) if the charges directly affected the state; private (*ἰδίαι*), if they only affected it indirectly.

[6] Such as bringing a lawsuit against anyone with the object of getting money out of him.

they may provide means of support for those who are in need, but how they may bring those who appear to be possessed of means down to the level of those who are without any. 132. What means then can there be of ridding ourselves of our present misfortunes? I have already discussed most of them, not in regular order, but as a suitable opportunity for each occurred; however, it might possibly serve to imprint them more firmly in your memory, if I were to gather up the most important and attempt to go over them again.

133. The first means of setting right and improving the condition of the state is to appoint as our advisers on public affairs men whose counsel we should desire to have for our private affairs; and to cease to regard petty informers as friends of the people and true and honourable men as partisans of oligarchy, recognising the fact that neither of them is by nature the friend of either oligarchy or democracy, but that each party is desirous of introducing that form of government which offers them the best chance of advancement. 134. In the second place, we should show ourselves willing to treat our allies as friends, and not to leave them only nominally independent, while in reality abandoning them to the mercy of our generals,[1] nor again, should we exercise our headship over them like masters but like allies,[2] in the conviction that, although we are stronger than each city individually, we are not a match for them collectively. 135. In the third place, next after piety towards the gods, you should consider nothing of greater importance than a good reputation amongst the Hellenes; for upon those who are animated by such feelings they voluntarily confer both power and supremacy.

136. If, then, you abide by the principles I have mentioned, and, in addition, show yourselves warlike in practice

[1] With special reference to Chares.

[2] Cp. "Panegyricus," § 80.

and preparation, and peaceful in that you do nothing contrary to justice, you will not only ensure the prosperity of this city but that of all the rest of the Hellenes. 137. For no other city will venture to wrong them ; all will hesitate and remain quiet when they see our power on the alert and ready to assist those who are unjustly treated. Besides, whatever course they adopt, we at least shall do well and prosper. 138. For, if the foremost cities resolve to abstain from wrongdoing, we shall have the credit for this blessing ; and, if they attempt to do wrong, all those who are in fear and ill-treated will flee for refuge to us, with prayers and supplications, offering to surrender, not only the supremacy, but even themselves. 139. So that we shall not be at a loss for assistance in checking the wrongdoers, but shall find numbers ready and eager to fight on our side. For what city or what man will not be desirous of sharing our friendship and alliance, when they see that we are at once most just and most powerful, both willing and able to save others, while needing no assistance from them ourselves? 140. What improvement may we not expect in the condition of the state, with such a store of goodwill on the part of the other states to assist us? what riches may we not expect will flow into the state, if all Hellas is saved by us? who will not praise those who have been the cause of so many and so great blessings? 141. However, my age prevents me from including everything in my speech which I see in thought ; I will only say that it is highly honourable, in the midst of the wrongdoing and frenzied folly of others, to be the first to show an example of good sense and to defend the freedom of the Hellenes ; to be called their preservers rather than their destroyers ; and, having become famous for nobility of conduct, to revive in our persons the glory of our forefathers.

142. The most important thing of all I have yet to mention, upon which all that I have previously said is centred and in the light of which we must test the actions of the

state. If we are anxious to get rid of the evil reputation in which we are held at the present time, to cease from the wars that are being uselessly carried on, and to acquire the supremacy for our city for all time, we must hate all absolute authority and power, reflecting upon the evils that have arisen from them, and take as the object of our rivalry and imitation the royal government of Sparta. 143. For their kings have less liberty to do wrong than private citizens, and are so much the more to be felicitated than those who maintain their arbitrary power by force, inasmuch as, while those who put the latter to death receive the greatest rewards from their fellow-citizens, those who have not the courage to die on the field of battle on behalf of the former are held in greater dishonour than those who desert their ranks and throw away their shields. 144. Such a leadership is worth aspiring to; and under present circumstances it is possible for us to obtain from the Hellenes the same honour as the kings of Lacedaemon enjoy amongst their fellow-citizens, when they come to see that our power will be to them the cause, not of slavery, but a guarantee of safety.

145. Although many powerful arguments might be brought forward upon this subject, two things—the length of my speech and the number of my years—warn me to cease from speaking; I therefore recommend and exhort those who are younger and more vigorous than myself to deliver and compose speeches which may induce the greatest states, and those which are accustomed to oppress the rest, to direct their attention to virtue and justice, since, when the affairs of Hellas are prosperous, it follows that the position of men who are devoted to learning and philosophy is in like manner much improved.

EVAGORAS.

This is the third of the discourses addressed to Nicocles, and, according to Isocrates himself, was the first example of a panegyric on a contemporary. It was regarded by some as a λόγος ἐπιτάφιος, or funeral oration, but in style it certainly more resembles an ἐγκώμιον, or panegyric, and contains no lament or words of consolation, which is said to show that Nicocles had been dead for some time. From § 78 it is clear that it was written later than the "to Nicocles." Evagoras was assassinated in B.C. 374 by a eunuch whose master had fled from Salamis on being detected in a plot against the king's life. There are no certain indications of the date; authorities are undecided between B.C. 370-365, perhaps even later, although of course it could not be later than B.C. 353, in which year Nicocles is no longer alive.

The population of Cyprus was mixed, partly Phoenician and partly Greek, the former element predominating, while the latter was depressed owing to contact with the East. Evagoras appears to have been a man of distinct ability, and the champion of Hellenism against barbarism, as shown by his resistance against Persia.

The glorification of his deeds, says Isocrates, would rejoice the heart of Evagoras more than any funeral honours; he blames the grudging spirit and ingratitude of those who do not pay due honours to their benefactors and contemporaries, and excuses himself by saying that he lacks models for this kind of discourse, in which poets have had it all their own way. He then relates the glorious descent of Evagoras from Aeacus, the history of the royal house of Cyprus, the remarkable promise displayed by Evagoras in his youth, his fulfilment of it and attainment to power, his services as ruler, especially the Hellenizing of the island, his hospitality to fugitive Hellenes such as Conon, his brave resistance against the united forces of Persia, in which he proved himself greater even than the conquerors of Troy, and worthy to rule all Asia. In conclusion, he excuses himself for his feeble effort on the score of his advanced age, exhorts Nicocles to imitate his father, and praises him for his industrious devotion to study, in which he sets an excellent example to all rulers.

EVAGORAS.

1. When I saw, O Nicocles, that you were honouring the tomb of your father, not only with numerous and magnificent offerings, according to custom, but also with dances, musical exhibitions, and athletic contests, as well as with horse-races and trireme-races, on a scale that left no possibility of their being surpassed, 2. I thought that Evagoras, if the dead have any feeling of what happens on earth, while accepting this offering favourably, and beholding with joy your filial regard for him and your magnificence, would feel far greater gratitude to anyone who could show himself capable of worthily describing his mode of life and the dangers he had undergone than to anyone else ; 3. for we shall find that ambitious and high-souled men not only prefer praise to such honours, but choose a glorious death in preference to life, and are more jealous of their reputation than of their existence, shrinking from nothing in order to leave behind a remembrance of themselves that shall never die. 4. Now, expensive displays produce none of these results, but are merely an indication of wealth ; those who are engaged in liberal pursuits and other branches of rivalry, by displaying, some their strength, and others their skill, increase their reputation ; but a discourse that could worthily describe the acts of Evagoras would cause his noble qualities to be ever remembered amongst all mankind.

5. Other writers ought accordingly to have praised those who showed themselves distinguished in their own days, in order that both those who are able to embellish the deeds

of others by their eloquence, speaking in the presence of those who were acquainted with the facts, might have adhered to the truth concerning them, and that the younger generation might be more eagerly disposed to virtue, feeling convinced that they will be more highly praised than those to whom they show themselves superior. 6. At the present time, who could help being disheartened at seeing those who lived in the times of the Trojan wars, and even earlier, celebrated in songs and tragedies, when he knows beforehand that he himself, even if he surpass their noble deeds, will never be deemed worthy of such eulogies? The cause of this is jealousy, the only good of which is that it is the greatest curse to those who are actuated by it. For some men are naturally so peevish, that they would rather hear men praised, as to whom they do not feel sure that they ever existed, than those at whose hands they themselves have received benefits. 7. Men of sense ought not to be the slaves of the folly of such men, but, while despising them, they ought at the same time to accustom others to listen to matters which ought to be spoken of, especially since we know that the arts and everything else are advanced, not by those who abide by established customs, but by those who correct and, from time to time, venture to alter anything that is unsatisfactory.

8. I know that the task I am proposing to myself is a difficult one—to eulogize the good qualities of a man in prose. A most convincing proof of this is that, while those who are engaged in the study of philosophy[1] are ever ready to speak about many other subjects of various kinds, none of them has ever yet attempted to compose a treatise on a subject like this. 9. And I can make much allowance for them; for to poets many embellishments of language are permitted; they are allowed to represent the gods as associating and conversing with men and aiding whomsoever they will in

[1] See General Introduction, § 5.

battle, to discuss them, not only in ordinary terms, but also to employ, sometimes strange expressions, sometimes newly-formed words, and sometimes metaphors, and are able to vary their composition with all kinds of embellishment, omitting none ; 10. prose writers, on the other hand, have no license of the kind, but are obliged to employ only ordinary words with precision, and thoughts that deal with plain facts. Besides, the former always make use of metre and rhythm, while the latter have no share in these advantages, which possess such a charm, that, even if the style and thoughts are feeble, they attract the hearers by harmony and cadence. 11. One may recognise their influence from what I am going to say ; for if one retains the words and ideas of famous poems, and does away with the metre, they will appear to fall far short of the opinion we at present hold concerning them. But, nevertheless, although poetry possesses such great advantages, we must not shrink from the task, but try whether plain prose will be as competent to pronounce the eulogy of good men as those who deliver encomiums in songs and verse.

12. In the first place, in regard to the birth and descent of Evagoras, although many are acquainted with them already, it appears to me fitting that I also should give some account of them for the sake of those who are not, in order that all may know that, while the greatest and noblest examples had been bequeathed to him by his ancestors, he showed himself no whit inferior to them. 13. It is admitted that the descendants of Zeus are the noblest of the demigods, and, amongst them, all would assign pre-eminence to the Aeacidae ; for, while in all other races we shall find some eminent and others inferior, all the Aeacidae were the most famous amongst their contemporaries. 14. Aeacus, the descendant of Zeus, and ancestor of the family of the Teucridae, was a man of such distinction that, when the Hellenes were visited with drought and numbers perished, and the extent of the calamity had passed

all bounds, the chief magistrates of the cities came and implored his assistance, confident that, by the aid of his kinship with the gods and his well-known piety, they would speedily find relief from their present calamities by the favour of Heaven. 15. After they had been delivered from their distress and had obtained what they wanted, they built a temple in Aegina in the name of all the Hellenes, on the spot where Aeacus had offered up his prayer to Heaven. From that time, as long as he was amongst men, he continued to enjoy the highest reputation; and, when he departed this life, he is said to have taken his seat by the side of Pluto and Persephone, in the enjoyment of the greatest honours.[1] 16. His sons were Telamon and Peleus. The former, having accompanied Hercules in his expedition against Laomedon, obtained the meed of valour; Peleus, having distinguished himself in the battle against the Centaurs and gained renown in many other dangerous undertakings, wedded Thetis, the daughter of Nereus, and, a mortal, became the husband of an immortal bride, and he is the only man of all who have ever lived, at whose marriage the bridal hymn is said to have been sung by the gods. 17. Both had sons: Telamon, Ajax and Teucer; and Peleus, Achilles; all three of whom gave the greatest and clearest proof of their courage; for they took the lead, not only in their own cities, and in the places where they dwelt, but, when the Hellenes made an expedition against the barbarians, and many on either side gathered round the standard, no man of distinction absenting himself, Achilles surpassed all others in this dangerous enterprise. 18. Next after him Ajax was distinguished for valour, and Teucer, showing himself worthy of his kinship with them, and not a whit inferior to any of the rest, having assisted in the capture of Troy, sailed to Cyprus and founded Salamis, calling it

[1] According to others he was one of the judges of the infernal regions, together with Minos and Rhadamanthus.

after the name of his country, and was the founder of the present dynasty.

19. Such was the original greatness that Evagoras owed to his ancestors. After the city had been founded in this manner, in early times the descendants of Teucer held the government, but afterwards a Phoenician exile[1] landed, and, having been admitted into the confidence of the reigning prince and acquired great influence, showed no gratitude, 20. but behaved shamefully towards the man who had afforded him shelter, and, being terribly ambitious, drove out his benefactor and seized the kingdom. Afterwards, distrustful of the consequences of his acts, and desirous of establishing his position on a secure footing, he filled the city with barbarians and brought the whole island into subjection to the Great King. 21. When matters were in this state, and the usurper's descendants held the government, Evagoras was born. I prefer to omit the utterances of men, the responses of oracles, and the visions seen in dreams, according to which his birth would appear to have been superhuman, not because I disbelieve what is said, but in order to make it clear to all that, far from inventing any of his acts, I say nothing even about these things that are really true, with which few are acquainted, and which are not generally known to the citizens. I will commence with such facts as are beyond dispute.

22. When a boy, he was distinguished for beauty, strength, and modesty, the most becoming qualities at such an age. In proof of which witnesses could be produced: of his modesty, those of the citizens who were brought up with him; of his beauty, all who saw him; of his strength, the contests in which he surpassed his compeers. 23. When he grew to man's estate, all these qualities were proportionately

[1] According to Grote, the dispossession of the Greek dynasty by the Phoenician took place about B.C. 450. Professor Jebb thinks that, from the words of Isocrates, he, at any rate, assigned a much earlier date to it.

enhanced, and in addition to them he acquired courage, wisdom, and uprightness, and these in no small measure, as is the case with some others, but each of them in the highest degree. 24. For he was so distinguished for his bodily and mental excellences, that, whenever any of the reigning princes of the time saw him, they were amazed and became alarmed for their rule, thinking it impossible that a man of such talents would continue to live in the position of a private individual, and whenever they considered his character, they felt such confidence in him that they were convinced that he would assist them even if anyone ventured to attack them. 25. In spite of such changes of opinion concerning him, they were in neither case mistaken; for he neither remained a private individual, nor, on the other hand, did them injury, but the Deity watched over him so carefully in order that he might gain the kingdom honourably, that everything which could not be done without involving impiety was carried out by another's hands, 26. while all the means by which it was possible to acquire the kingdom without impiety or injustice he reserved for Evagoras. For one of the nobles [1] plotted against and slew the tyrant, and afterwards attempted to seize Evagoras, feeling convinced that he would not be able to secure his authority unless he got him also out of the way. 27. Evagoras, however, escaped this peril and, having got safe to Soli in Cilicia, did not show the same feelings as those who are overtaken by like misfortunes. Others, even those who have been driven from sovereign power,[2] have their spirits broken by the weight of their misfortunes; but Evagoras rose to such greatness of soul, that, although he had all along lived as a private individual, at the moment when he was compelled to flee, he felt that he was destined to rule. 28. Despising vagabond

[1] The Tyrian Abdemon.

[2] And who might therefore have been expected to show some courage in facing their calamities.

exiles, unwilling to attempt to secure his return by means of strangers, and to be under the necessity of courting those inferior to himself, he seized this opportunity, as befits all who desire to act in a spirit of piety and to act in self-defence rather than to be the first to inflict an injury, and made up his mind either to succeed in acquiring the kingdom or to die in the attempt if he failed. Accordingly, having got together about fifty men (on the highest estimate), he made preparations to return to his country in company with them. 29. From this it would be easy to recognise his natural force of character and the reputation he enjoyed amongst others; for, when he was on the point of setting sail with so small a force on so vast an undertaking, and when all kinds of perils stared him in the face, he did not lose heart himself, nor did any of those whom he had invited to assist him think fit to shrink from dangers, but, as if they were following a god, all stood by their promises, while he showed himself as confident as if he had a stronger force at his command than his adversaries, or knew the result beforehand. 30. This is evident from what he did; for, after he had landed on the island, he did not think it necessary to occupy any strong position, and, after providing for the safety of his person, to wait and see whether any of the citizens would come to his assistance; but, without delay, just as he was, on that eventful night he broke open a gate in the wall, and, leading his companions through the gap, attacked the royal residence. 31. There is no need to waste time in telling of the confusion that ensues at such moments, the terror of the assaulted, and his exhortations to his comrades; but, when the supporters of the tyrant resisted him, while the rest of the citizens looked on and kept quiet, fearing, on the one hand, the authority of their ruler, and, on the other, the valour of Evagoras, 32. he did not abandon the conflict, engaging either in single combat against numbers, or with few supporters against the whole of the enemy's forces, until he had captured the palace,

punished his enemies, succoured his friends, and finally recovered for his family its ancestral honours, and made himself ruler of the city.[1]

33. I think that, even if I were to mention nothing else, but were to break off my discourse at this point, it would be easy to appreciate the valour of Evagoras and the greatness of his achievements; however, I hope that I shall be able to present both even more clearly in what I am going to say. 34. For while, in all ages, so many have acquired sovereign power, no one will be shown to have gained this high position more honourably than Evagoras. If we were to compare the deeds of Evagoras with those of each of his predecessors individually, such details would perhaps be unsuitable to the occasion, while time would be insufficient for their recital; but if, selecting the most famous of these men, we examine them in the light of his actions, we shall be able to investigate the matter equally well, and at the same time to discuss it more briefly.

35. Who would not prefer the perils of Evagoras to the lot of those who inherited kingdoms from their fathers? For no one is so indifferent to fame that he would choose to receive such power from his ancestors rather than to acquire it, as he did, and to bequeath it to his children. 36. Further, amongst the returns of princes to their thrones that took place in old times, those are most famous which we hear of from the poets; for they not only inform us of the most renowned of all that have taken place, but add new ones out of their own imaginations. None of them, however, has invented the story of a prince who, after having undergone such fearful and terrible

[1] Grote puts the date of the restoration of the Teucrid dynasty at about B.C. 411 or B.C. 410, remarking that Evagoras must have been a prince not only established on the throne, but powerful, since he ventured to give refuge to Conon after the battle of Aegospotami. It is said that Andocides visited Cyprus just after the fall of the 400 (B.C. 411, autumn), and found Evagoras then on the throne.

dangers, has returned to his own country; but most of them are represented as having regained possession of their kingdoms by chance, others as having overcome their enemies by perfidy and intrigue. 37. Amongst those who lived afterwards (and perhaps more than all) Cyrus, who deprived the Medes of their rule, and acquired it for the Persians, is the object of most general admiration. But, whereas Cyrus conquered the army of the Medes with that of the Persians, an achievement which many (whether Hellenes or barbarians) could easily accomplish, Evagoras undoubtedly carried out the greater part of what has been mentioned by his own unaided energy and valour 38. In the next place, it is not yet certain, from the expedition of Cyrus, that he would have faced the perils of Evagoras, while it is obvious, from the achievements of the latter, that he would readily have attempted the same undertakings as Cyrus. Further, while Evagoras acted in everything in accordance with rectitude and justice, several of the acts of Cyrus were not in accordance with religion; for the former merely destroyed his enemies, the latter [1] slew his mother's father. Wherefore, if any were content to judge, not the greatness of events, but the good qualities of each, they would rightly praise Evagoras more than Cyrus. 39. But—if I am to speak briefly and without reserve, without fear of jealousy, and with the utmost frankness—no one, whether mortal, demigod, or immortal, will be found to have acquired his kingdom more honourably, more gloriously, or more piously than he did. One would feel still more confident of this if, disbelieving what I have said, he were to attempt to investigate how each obtained supreme power. For it will be manifest

[1] This fact is not mentioned by any other writer. According to Herodotus, i. 130, Cyrus, although he deprived Astyages of his kingdom, and kept him in prison (*Ἀστυάγεα δὲ ὁ Κῦρος, κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας, εἶχε παρ' ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησεν*), did him no further harm.

that I am not in any way desirous of exaggerating, but that I have spoken with such assurance concerning him because the facts which I state are true. 40. Even if he had gained distinction only for unimportant enterprises, it were fitting that he should be considered worthy of praise in proportion; but, as it is, all would allow that supreme power is the greatest, the most august, and most coveted of all blessings, human and divine. Who then, whether poet, orator, or inventor of words,[1] could extol in a manner worthy of his achievements one who has gained the most glorious prize that exists by most glorious deeds?

41. However, while superior in these respects, he will not be found to have been inferior in others, but, in the first place, although naturally gifted with most admirable judgment, and able to carry out his undertakings most successfully, he did not think it right to act carelessly or on the spur of the moment in the conduct of affairs, but occupied most of his time in acquiring information, in reflection, and deliberation, thinking that, if he thoroughly developed his intellect, his rule would be in like manner glorious, and looking with surprise upon those who, while exercising care in everything else for the sake of the mind, take no thought for the intelligence itself.

42. In the next place, his opinion of events was consistent; for, since he saw that those who look best after realities suffer the least annoyance, and that true recreation consists, not in idleness, but in success that is due to continuous toil, he left nothing unexamined, but had such thorough acquaintance with the condition of affairs, and the character of each of the citizens, that neither did those who plotted against him take him unawares, nor were the respectable citizens unknown to him, but all were treated as they deserved; for he neither

[1] *i.c.*, a writer of discourses for display, such as the Helenae Encomium and Busiris. Benseler takes the phrase to mean "historian" = λογογράφος.

punished nor rewarded them in accordance with what he heard from others, but formed his judgment of them from his own personal knowledge. 43. But, while he busied himself in the care of such matters, he never made a single mistake in regard to any of the events of everyday life, but carried on the administration of the city in such a spirit of piety and humanity, that those who visited the island envied the power of Evagoras less than those who were subject to his rule; for he consistently avoided treating anyone with injustice, but honoured the virtuous, and, while ruling all vigorously, punished the wrongdoers in strict accordance with justice; 44. having no need of counsellors, but, nevertheless, consulting his friends; often making concessions to his intimates, but in everything showing himself superior to his enemies; preserving his dignity, not by knitted brows, but by his manner of life; not behaving irregularly or capriciously in anything, but preserving consistency in word as well as in deed; 45. priding himself, not on the successes that were due to chance, but on those due to his own efforts; bringing his friends under his influence by kindness, and subduing the rest by his greatness of soul; terrible, not by the number of his punishments, but by the superiority of his intellect over that of the rest; controlling his pleasures, but not led by them; gaining much leisure by little labour, but never neglecting important business for the sake of short-lived ease; 46. and, in general, omitting none of the fitting attributes of kings, he selected the best from each form of political activity: a popular champion by reason of his care for the interests of the people, an able administrator in his management of the state generally, a thorough general in his resourcefulness in the face of danger, and a thorough monarch from his pre-eminence in all these qualities. That such were his attributes, and even more than these, it is easy to learn from his acts themselves.

47. For, having found the city, when he took possession of

it, reduced to a state of barbarism, and, owing to the rule of the Phoenicians, neither admitting the Hellenes to intercourse, nor acquainted with the arts, nor possessed of a mart or harbour, he corrected all these defects, acquired much additional territory, threw up new walls around it, had triremes built, and in addition so adorned it with public buildings that it was inferior to none of the cities of Hellas, and introduced such power that many of those who formerly despised it were afraid. 48. And yet it is impossible for cities to make such progress, unless they are managed by a man endowed with the natural gifts of Evagoras, such as I have endeavoured to describe a little before. Wherefore I am not afraid of being thought to exaggerate his qualities, but of falling far short of what he did. 49. For who could adequately describe the talents of a man who not only raised his city to a higher position, but caused the whole surrounding district to advance in the direction of mildness and moderation? Before Evagoras took the government in hand, they were so unsociable and cruel that they considered those the best rulers who behaved with the greatest severity towards the Hellenes; 50. but now, their character has so changed that there is rivalry as to which of them shall be thought the greatest admirers of the Hellenes, and most of them take wives from amongst us and beget children, and take more pleasure in the belongings and institutions of the Hellenes than in their own, and more of those who are engaged in liberal pursuits and other branches of education generally, sojourn in these places than amongst those in whose midst they were formerly accustomed to reside. Of this revolution there is no one who would not recognise that Evagoras was the cause.

51. The most convincing proof of his general character and uprightness is this. Many honourable citizens of the Hellenes left their country and went to dwell in Cyprus,[1]

[1] "The years B.C. 413-405 were years of great distress for Athens; and, after B.C. 405, cases of banishment and confiscation

feeling that the rule of Evagoras was milder and more equitable than their governments at home. 52. It would be tedious to mention all the others by name, but who does not know that Conon, who was the first man of all the Hellenes by reason of his numerous good qualities, when he was in distress came to Evagoras, selecting him out of all, because he thought that, by taking refuge with him, he would find the greatest personal security, and at the same time the most speedy assistance for the city? And, although Conon had in many other previous instances been successful, he never at any time appeared to have taken a better resolution than in regard to him; 53. for his arrival in Cyprus gave him the opportunity of conferring, and in turn receiving many benefits. For, in the first place, no sooner had they come into contact than they esteemed each other more highly than those who were formerly their most intimate friends. In the next place, they all along continued of one mind in regard to everything else, and held the same opinion concerning our city. 54. For, when they saw it subject to the Lacedaemonians and suffering a severe reverse of fortune, they were grieved and indignant, both of them with good reason; for it was Conon's natural country, while Evagoras, on account of his many and great services, had been regularly enrolled by the Athenians amongst the citizens.[1] While they were con-

were numerous in every city where there was a Spartan decarchy [oligarchical governing boards introduced into the cities by Lysander after the fall of Athens, in order to keep the former supporters of Athens in subjection. Their authority was upheld by a Spartan harmost and a body of soldiers, like Callibius and the 700 hoplites at Athens]. Thus the early years of the reign of Evagoras coincided with a period when such a refuge as Salamis was likely to attract the greatest number of settlers."—JEBB, *Attic Orators*, ii. 3.

[1] "Evagoras, the friend of Conon, who assisted the Athenians in the re-establishment of their independence, was made a citizen of Athens, and statues of him and of Conon were placed side by side in the Cerameicus."—C. R. K.

sidering how they should free it from its misfortunes, the Lacedaemonians soon afforded them the opportunity; for, when masters of the Hellenes by land and sea, they became so insatiate that they attempted to ravage Asia. 55. Conon and Evagoras, seizing this opportunity, while the King's generals were at a loss how to profit by the state of affairs, advised them to make war against the Lacedaemonians not by land but by sea, thinking that, if they got together a land army and gained a victory with it, the mainland alone would reap the benefit of it, but that, if they got the better on sea, the whole of Hellas would share in the results of the victory. 56. And this was just what happened; for, after the generals had been won over to this view and a navy had been got together, the Lacedaemonians were defeated in a naval engagement and lost their supremacy, while the Hellenes were freed, and our city recovered some of its ancient reputation and again became leader of the allies. This certainly took place under the command of Conon, but it was Evagoras who rendered it possible and provided the greater part of the forces. 57. In return for these services, we conferred the greatest honours upon them, and set up statues of them in the same [2] place as the statue of Zeus the Preserver, close to it and to one another, as a memorial both of the greatness of their services and of their mutual friendship.

The King of Persia [3] himself did not hold the same opinion concerning them; but, the greater and more glorious their deeds, the more he feared them. Concerning Conon I will speak elsewhere; but the king did not even attempt to conceal that such were his feelings towards Evagoras. 58. For it is well known that he displayed more anxiety about the war in Cyprus [4] than about any other, and looked

[1] At Cnidus, B.C. 394.

[2] In the Cerameicus, a suburb of Athens, by the *στοὰ βασίλειος*.

[3] Artaxerxes Mnemon.

[4] The date of the ten years' Cyprian War is given as B.C. 390-380.

upon Evagoras as a more powerful and more formidable antagonist than Cyrus, who had disputed the kingdom with him. The most convincing proof is this: when he heard of the preparations of the latter he treated them with such contempt, that, owing to his carelessness, he narrowly escaped being surprised by him in his own palace; but for a long time he was so excessively afraid of Evagoras, that, even while receiving kindnesses at his hands, he prepared to make war upon him, not indeed acting therein with strict justice, although his resolve was not altogether unreasonable. 59. For he well knew that many, both Hellenes and barbarians, starting from humble and unimportant positions, had overthrown mighty powers, and he was aware of the high soul of Evagoras, and felt that the progress of his reputation and position did not take place by slow degrees,[1] but that he was endowed with incomparable talent, and that Fortune assisted him in his undertakings; 60. so that, not from anger at the past, but from fear of the future, not alarmed for Cyprus alone, but for much greater matters, he made war against him, and entered into it with such ardour that he spent on this expedition more than 15,000 talents. 61. But Evagoras, although inferior in all the means of war,[2] opposing his natural ability to such immense preparations, showed himself far more worthy of admiration in this than on all other occasions that I have previously mentioned. For when the Persians allowed him to be at peace, all that he possessed was his own city;

Evagoras seems to have been forced into the war. He at first met with considerable success, and received support from the Egyptians and the Athenians under Chabrias; the latter, however, deserted his cause after the conclusion of the peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 387). Evagoras attacked the Persians at Citium (B.C. 386), and was finally blockaded and defeated at Salamis. He still, however, held out, and at last the Persians, tired of the war, made peace and granted him full possession of Salamis, subject to payment of tribute.

[1] Others render *κατὰ μικρὸν*, "inconsiderably."

[2] See "Panegyricus," § 141.

62. but from the time that he was forced to make war, he showed such valour, and had such a valuable assistant in his son Pnytagoras,[1] that he almost got possession of the whole of Cyprus, ravaged Phoenicia, took Tyre by storm, induced Cilicia to revolt from the king, and slew such a number of his enemies that many of the Persians, when they lament their misfortunes, speak of the valour of Evagoras; 63. and finally so sickened them of war that, although the kings of Persia always made it a practice to refuse to treat with their revolted subjects until they had become masters of their persons, they gladly made peace, breaking through this custom, but in no way disturbing the rule of Evagoras. 64. Within three[2] years the Great King deprived the Lacedaemonians, who at the time were at the height of their power and reputation, of their authority, but, although he carried on war against Evagoras for ten years, he left him master of all that had been in his possession before he entered upon the war. The most remarkable thing of all was, that the Great King, with his overwhelming forces, was unable to subdue the city which Evagoras captured with fifty men during the reign of another.

65. Indeed, what clearer proof could one give of the courage, genius, or excellent qualities generally of Evagoras than such deeds and dangerous enterprises? for he will be shown to have surpassed, not only the exploits of all other wars, but even those of the wars of the heroes, which are celebrated by all. For they only captured Troy

[1] After the defeat of Evagoras, Pnytagoras fled to Egypt, and afterwards assisted in the defence of Salamis.

[2] B.C. 396-394, during "the War of Rhodes." "Isocrates considers the war between Persia and Sparta as having virtually begun in B.C. 396, in which year Agesilaus took command in Asia, and Conon took the chief command of the Persian fleet. He considers that the victory at Cnidus deprived Sparta of her supremacy. This is of course a rhetorical exaggeration; for though it is true that the *maritime* power of Sparta was crushed at Cnidus, the Spartan ἀρχή in Hellas lasted till Leuctra."—JEBB, *Attic Orators*, ii. 112.

aided by the whole of Hellas, while Evagoras, with only one city, made war against the whole of Asia; so that, if the number of those who desired to sing his praises had equalled the number of the poets who sang the praises of the heroes, he would have gained a far greater reputation than they. 66. For if, omitting fables, we look at the truth, whom of the men of that generation shall we find has accomplished such glorious deeds, or has been the cause of such great revolutions in the condition of affairs? for he made himself a ruler from a private individual, and restored his family that had been entirely driven from political power to the honourable position that was their due: changed the citizens from barbarians to Hellenes, 67. from cowards to warriors, from men of no reputation to men of renown, and, having found the country shut up from all intercourse with its neighbours, and in a state of utter savagery, made it more civilized and gentle, and, besides this, when he came to hostilities with the King, he so valiantly defended himself against him that the war about Cyprus has never been forgotten, and, when he was his ally, rendered him services so much greater than his other allies, 68. that he admittedly contributed the greatest part of the forces for the sea-fight at Cnidus, the result of which was that the King became master of the whole of Asia, and the Lacedaemonians, instead of ravaging the mainland, were compelled to fight for the safety of their own territory, while the Hellenes gained independence in place of slavery, and the Athenians made such progress, that those [1] who formerly lorded it over them came to offer to restore to them the supreme control. 69. So that, if anyone were to ask me what I consider the greatest achievement of Evagoras,—his unremitting attention and preparations against the Lacedaemonians which produced the results I have previously mentioned, the last war, the recovery of his king-

[1] The Lacedaemonians, after the battle of Cnidus.

dom, or his general management of affairs, I should be greatly perplexed; for, to whichever of them from time to time I direct my thoughts, that always appears to me to be the greatest and most worthy of admiration.

70. Wherefore, if any of those of old have become immortal by reason of their virtue, I think that Evagoras also has shown himself worthy of this privilege, in proof whereof I adduce the fact that he spent his life on earth more happily and more favoured by heaven than they. For we shall find that, while the greater number and the most famous of the demigods were overtaken by the greatest calamities, Evagoras continued from the beginning, not only the object of the greatest admiration, but also most blessed with happiness. 71. For in what respect was he lacking in prosperity, seeing that he had such ancestors as no one else had except he belonged to the same family, and was so superior to others in bodily and mental qualities that he was worthy to rule over, not only Salamis, but the whole of Asia, and, after having acquired his kingdom most nobly, he continued in the enjoyment of it all his life, and, though a mortal, left behind him an immortal memory, and lived so long that, while he was not without a share of old age, he nevertheless escaped the infirmities incidental to that period of life. 72. In addition to this, that which is considered the rarest blessing, and one most difficult to obtain, was not refused to him, but this also fell to his lot: the privilege of being blessed with an offspring at once numerous and worthy of their father. The most remarkable thing of all was, that none of his descendants were addressed merely by private titles, but one was called king, others princes, and others princesses. Wherefore, if any of the poets have used exaggerated language concerning anyone of those who preceded him, asserting that he was a god amongst men, or a mortal divinity, all these titles, applied to Evagoras, would be in complete harmony with his noble qualities.

73. I have doubtless omitted much that might be said

of Evagoras; for I am past my prime, which would have assisted me to complete this eulogy with greater care and pains; however, even at my age, to the best of my ability, his praises have not been left unsung. My opinion, O Nicocles, is, that while bodily likenesses are excellent memorials, those of the acts and thoughts are deserving of far greater esteem, which one will only find in speeches composed according to the rules of art. 74. I prefer them to the former, because I know, in the first place, that honourable men do not pride themselves so much on physical beauty as they display an honourable ambition in regard to their actions and judgment; in the second place, that material representations are obliged to remain in the hands of those amongst whom they are set up, while words and speeches can be spread abroad in Hellas, and, passing from hand to hand, meet with approval in the conversations of learned men, whose favour it is better to enjoy than that of any others; 75. and further, that no one would model his bodily nature on statues and pictures, while it is easy for those who do not choose to be idle, but wish to be good men, to imitate the manners and ideas of others that are contained in spoken discourse. 76. For these reasons above all others, I have attempted to compose this speech, feeling convinced that it would be the best encouragement to you and your children and all the descendants of Evagoras, if anyone were to gather together his virtues, and, setting them off with eloquence, were to offer them to you for contemplation and as the subject of your thoughts. 77. For we exhort others to the study of philosophy by praising their fellows, in order that, emulating those who are well spoken of, they may be eager for the same virtues as they possess; but I call upon you and yours, appealing not to the example of foreigners, but of your own family, and exhort and advise you to devote your attention to proving yourself inferior to none of the Hellenes either in word or deed. 78. And do not think that I am accusing you of indifference,

because I am frequently exhorting you on the same subject. For it is not unknown either to myself or others, that you are the first and only one of those living in the enjoyment of monarchy, wealth, and luxury, who has attempted to pursue the study of philosophy laboriously, nor that you will cause many kings to desire such pursuits, and abandon those in which they now take such delight, from their ambition to rival your learning. 79. But, although I know this, none the less do I now act, and shall continue to act as the spectators at the athletic games, who encourage those competitors in the race who are struggling for victory, not those who are distanced and left behind. 80. It is my duty, then, and that of all your other friends, to speak and write in such a manner as may be likely to incite you to be eager to reach the goal which you now desire; as for you, it behoves you to neglect nothing, but, as in the past, so in the future, to attend to yourself, and to exercise your abilities, that you may prove worthy both of your father and your ancestors. For it is the duty of all to set a high value on wisdom, but especially is it incumbent on those who, like yourself, are possessed of power so great and extensive. 81. Nor must you be content with being already superior to your contemporaries, but you ought to feel indignant if, endowed as you are by nature, remotely descended from Zeus, and in most recent times from a man of such distinguished excellence, you do not far surpass all others, and, above all, those who enjoy the same honours as yourself. It is in your own power to avoid failure in this; for, if you continue in the pursuit of philosophy and maintain your present progress, you will soon become such a man as it behoves you to be.

HELEN.

This treatise and the Busiris stand alone in the writings of Isocrates, being declamations upon mythical subjects,—which had always been popular amongst the earlier Sophists,—such as the encomium on Helen and defence of Palamedes, attributed to Gorgias; the speech of Odysseus against Palamedes, ascribed to Alcidamas, and the speeches of Ajax and Odysseus in the contest for the arms of Achilles, supposed to be written by Antisthenes. Isocrates here plays the part of a critic, first reviewing the productions of others, and then showing how he himself would have done the work.

The date is probably about B.C. 370; in § 1 there is an allusion to the three schools of the followers of Socrates—the Cynics, Megarians, and Academics; and Antisthenes (the founder of the Cynics, who died about B.C. 366) is represented as still alive, and from § 1 it seems that Gorgias (who died B.C. 380) is already dead.

The treatise is a polemic against the perverse method of the Sophists in their choice and treatment of subjects, with especial reference to the disputatious arguments of Gorgias and others on general subjects and the origin of things, their reprehensible and vicious method of instruction, and the ridiculous themes chosen by them as the subject of laudatory speeches or encomia. In the treatise itself lengthy episodes are introduced about Theseus as the first on whom Helen's beauty created a deep impression, the justification of Paris, and the praise of beauty; it is lastly attributed as a merit to Helen that the war undertaken on her account resulted in Hellas being saved from the barbarian yoke.

HELEN.

1. THERE are some who take great pride in being able to discuss in a tolerable manner any out of the way or paradoxical subject they may propose to themselves; and men have grown old, some asserting that it is impossible to say what is false, to contradict, or even to give two opposite accounts of the same things, others declaring that courage, wisdom, and justice are identical, and that none of them are natural qualities, but that one kind of knowledge alone is concerned with them all; while others waste their time in discussions that are perfectly useless, and whose only effect is to cause annoyance to their followers. 2. Now, if I saw that these subtleties had been recently introduced into the study of eloquence, and that these men could pride themselves upon the novelty of the invention, I should not wonder at them so much; but as it is, who is so backward in knowledge as not to know that Protagoras [1] and the sophists of his time have left to us writings of a similar nature and far more vexatious than these? 3. for how could one go beyond Gorgias,[2] who ven-

[1] Protagoras of Abdera, who came to Athens in the time of Pericles. He was the first of the sophists who united the profession of rhetorician and philosopher. He was also the first who took money for giving instruction in the art of speaking.

[2] Gorgias of Leontini in Sicily, the pupil of Tisias, was sent to Athens on an embassy (B.C. 427). He and his followers had no scientific theory of oratory, and confined themselves to dealing with general topics (*loci communes*), their idea being that a

tured to assert that nothing of all that is exists, or Zeno,[1] who attempted to prove that the same things were both possible and impossible, or Melissus,[1] who, although things were infinite in number, endeavoured to find proofs that the whole is one and the same? 4. But, nevertheless, while they made it abundantly clear that it is possible to make up a false account of any subject one may propose, they still waste time on this topic, whereas they ought to have abandoned such claptrap, which pretends to convince in words but has been long proved false in deeds, and to pursue the search after truth, to bring up their disciples to a knowledge of practical politics, 5. and to train them to experience in such matters, bearing in mind that it is far better to have a sound opinion upon useful things than an accurate knowledge of things that are useless, and to have a slight superiority in matters of importance than to be far above others in small things that are of no practical benefit in life.

6. But they have no thought for anything save enriching themselves at the expense of younger men. Now, it is just the philosophy that busies itself with discussions that is able to produce this result; for those who have no thought either for public or private interests take especial pleasure in such discourses as are of no service for any single purpose. 7. In the case of the young men, there is much to be said in excuse of their entertaining such ideas; for in everything they are always disposed to exaggeration and straining after the marvellous; but those who pretend to instruct them deserve rebuke, because,

rhetorician ought to be able to converse fluently on any subject, even if he knew nothing about it.

[1] Zeno of Elea, a Phocaean colony on the west coast of Italy (not to be confounded with Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, the founder of the Stoic school), and Melissus were the disciples of Parmenides. They belonged to the Eleatic school, who admitted a supreme intelligence which was believed to be one with the world itself.

while they accuse those who cheat in private contracts and make an unfair use of their powers of speech, they themselves act in a far more reprehensible manner than this; for while the former merely inflict loss upon strangers, the latter chiefly do harm to their own pupils. 8. They have further caused the practice of false speaking to increase to such an extent, that some, seeing these men benefited thereby, even venture to declare in writing, that the life of mendicants and exiles is more enviable than that of anyone else, and from the faculty which they possess of being able to say something about worthless subjects, they endeavour to prove that they will have plenty to say about such as are noble and useful. 9. But it seems to me to be the most ridiculous thing of all to attempt to convince people by such words that they possess knowledge of political affairs, while in the course of these very professions they might display it; for it is in such matters that those who dispute the possession of wisdom with others and pretend to be wise men ought to excel and be superior to the uninitiated, not in things that nobody pays any attention to, but in things which are the object of general rivalry. 10. But, as it is, their behaviour resembles that of a man who, while claiming to be the strongest of all athletes, descends into an arena in which no one would condescend to meet him. For what sensible man would undertake to praise misfortunes? It is evident that it is only from weakness that these men take refuge in such absurdities.

11. There is only one road to this class of compositions, which is neither difficult to find, nor to learn, nor to imitate; but discourses that are of general applicability, and trustworthy, and of a similar nature, can only be composed and uttered by the aid of a variety of forms and suitable expressions that are hard to learn, and their composition is so much more difficult in proportion as gravity is more laborious than buffoonery and earnestness than frivolity. 12. A strong argument is this: none of those

who have desired to praise bumble-bees, salt, and the like, have ever yet been without something to say, while all those who attempt to speak of such things as are admitted to be good and honourable, or of men who are distinguished for virtue, have fallen far short of the truth in what they say. 13. For it does not require the same intellect to speak suitably on these two kinds of subjects, but, while it is easy to say more than is necessary on trifling matters, it is difficult to rise to the importance of such things as deserve it; and while, in speaking of things of repute, it is rare to find anything that someone has not mentioned before, all a man's utterances concerning what is humble and worthless are original.

14. This is the reason why I praise him who wrote of Helen more than all others who have desired to describe a subject eloquently, because he has recalled the memory of a woman who surpassed all others in birth, beauty, and renown. However, even he has unwittingly made a slight error; for, while asserting that he has written an encomium upon her, he has rather composed a defence of her acts. 15. My discourse, however, is neither of the same kind nor concerned with the same subject, or rather, it is just the opposite; for it is fitting to defend those who are accused of injustice, but to praise those who excel in any noble quality.

However, that I may not render myself liable to the reproach of doing what is most easy to do, to criticize others without producing anything of my own, I will endeavour to speak of this same woman, omitting all that has been previously said by others.

16. I will commence my discourse with the origin of her family.

While most of the demigods owed their existence to Zeus, she was the only woman of whom he condescended to be called the father. While he took most interest in the son of Alcmene and the children of Leda, he so far showed preference for Helen over Heracles, that, having

granted such strength to the latter that he was enabled to overcome all by force, he allotted to Helen the gift of beauty, which is destined to bring even strength into subjection to it. 17. Knowing, further, that distinction and renown arise, not from peace, but from wars and combats, and wishing not only to exalt their bodies to heaven, but to bestow upon them an everlasting remembrance, he ordained a life of toil and danger for the one, while he granted to the other beauty that was universally admired and became the object of universal contention.

18. In the first place, Theseus,[1] the reputed son of Aegeus, but who was really the offspring of Poseidon, beholding her while she was still of tender years, but even then surpassed all other women in beauty, was so subjugated by her charms, that he, the man who was accustomed to command all others, although his country was most glorious, and his kingdom most securely established, did not consider life worth living in the enjoyment of the blessings he possessed without her society; 19. and, when he was unable to obtain her from her lawful guardians, who were waiting until she was of age to be married and also for the response of the Pythian oracle, disregarding the power of Tyndareus,[2] and despising the might of Castor and Polydeuces, in utter contempt of all the dangers that menaced him from Sparta, he carried her off by force to

[1] Theseus is regarded as the founder of the political institutions of Athens, and was in later times venerated as the parent of the Athenian democracy, just as Servius Tullius amongst the Romans was regarded by the plebeians as the author of their political rights and privileges. He was the reputed son of Aegeus and Aethra, daughter of Pittheus, King of Troezene; other legends make him a son of Poseidon (Neptune), the great Ionian divinity.

[2] The father of Helen, on whom Heracles had bestowed Laconia as his kingdom, having exterminated the family of King Hippocoon; when Menelaus, Agamemnon's brother, had been preferred by Helen to all her other suitors, he resigned his kingdom to his son-in-law.

Aphidna [1] in Attica, 20. and felt so grateful to Peirithous, who helped him to abduct her, that, when he aspired to the hand of Kore, the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, and begged him to accompany him down to Hades, Theseus, finding that he could not divert him from his purpose by his advice, although the danger was obvious, nevertheless accompanied him, thinking that he owed him this debt of gratitude, and that he ought not to shrink from the mandates of Peirithous, in return for the part he had taken in his own dangerous enterprise.

21. If he who acted thus had been an ordinary man instead of one of the most distinguished, it would not yet be clear whether my discourse is an encomium of Helen or an accusation of Theseus; but we shall find that, whereas, in the case of all other famous men, one has been lacking in courage, another in wisdom, and another in some similar quality, he alone was deficient in none, but was endowed with perfect virtue.

22. And it seems to me that I ought to speak of him even at greater length; for I think that the surest way of inspiring confidence in those who are desirous of praising Helen, is to show that those who loved and admired her were themselves more worthy of admiration than the rest of mankind. For, in regard to what has happened in our own days, we should naturally judge in accordance with our own opinions, but in regard to what took place so long ago it behoves us to show ourselves in agreement with the wise men of that age.

23. The most glorious thing that I can say concerning Theseus is that, although he lived in the time of Heracles, he

[1] Helen is of course merely a mythological personage, classed even by Herodotus with Io, Europa, and Medea. Not to mention her having been carried off by Alexander (Paris), which brought about the Trojan War, the same feat is said to have been performed by Idas and Lynceus, two Messenian heroes, answering to the Dioscuri (Castor and Polydeuces, or Pollux) her reputed brothers.

established a reputation which rivalled his. Not only were they equipped with the same arms, but they followed the same pursuits, in a manner befitting their relationship; for, being the children of brothers, the one of Zeus, the other of Poseidon, they cherished kindred desires, being the only men of antiquity who set themselves up as defenders of the life of their fellows. 24. It came to pass that the one underwent dangers that were greater and more famous, the other such as were more useful and more closely connected with the Hellenes. Heracles was ordered by Eurystheus [1] to fetch the cows from Erytheia and the apples of the Hesperides, and to bring up Cerberus from below, and to perform other similar labours, from which no benefit was likely to accrue to others, but only danger to himself; 25. while Theseus, being his own master, chose such undertakings as were likely to approve him the benefactor of Hellas or of his own country. Unaided, he vanquished the bull let loose by Poseidon, which ravaged Attica, which all united did not dare to face, and thereby delivered the inhabitants of the city from great fear and anxiety; 26. after this, entering into alliance with the Lapithae, he marched against the Centaurs, creatures half-men half-horses, who, endowed with swiftness, strength, and daring beyond all, sacked some of the cities, prepared to attack others, and menaced others with destruction; and, having defeated them, he at once checked their insolence, and not long afterwards wiped their race off the face of the earth. 27. About the same time the monster born in Crete, the offspring of Pasiphae, daughter of the Sun, was receiving the tribute of twice seven children sent by the city in obedience to the oracle. Theseus, when he saw them led away, accompanied by the whole of the people, to a monstrous and inevitable death, and lamented while yet alive,

[1] The twelve labours of Heracles were imposed upon him by Eurystheus, whose wife and children he had murdered in a fit of rage.

was so indignant that he thought it better to die than to live as the ruler of a city that was forced to pay such a pitiable tribute to its enemies.

28. Embarking with them for Crete, he overcame the creature, by nature half-man and half-bull, possessed of twofold strength as befitted its double origin, saved and restored the children to their parents, and freed the city from a mandate so unjust, so monstrous, and so hard to be delivered from.

29. I do not know how to deal with the rest of my discourse; for, as I have directed my attention to the deeds of Theseus and have commenced to speak about them, I do not like to stop half-way, and to say nothing about the lawless conduct of Sciron, Kerkyon, and other brigands like them, against whom he fought and delivered the Hellenes from many dire calamities, but, on the other hand, I feel that I am travelling beyond the proper limits of my subject, and am afraid that some may think that I am more interested in him than in the original subject of my discourse. 30. In this difficulty, I think it best to omit the greater part of the exploits of Theseus out of consideration for fretful listeners, and to describe the rest as briefly as possible, that I may gratify both them and myself, and not allow myself to be altogether subservient to those whose habit it is to be jealous of and to carp at everything that they hear.

31. His courage he displayed in those deeds in which he exposed himself to danger alone and unaided; his military skill in the engagements he fought together with the whole city; his piety towards the gods in the reception he gave to the suppliants Adrastus and the children of Heracles, the latter of whom he saved by defeating the Peloponnesians, while to the former, in spite of the Thebans, he restored for burial those who had died under the walls of the Cadmea; and his other virtues and his prudence, not only in what has been mentioned before, but above all in his administration

of the city. 32. He saw that those who aspire to rule their fellow-citizens by force are themselves the slaves of others, and that those who make life dangerous for the rest live in fear and trembling themselves, and are forced to make war, on the one hand, with the help of the citizens against those who attack their country, 33. and, on the other hand, with the help of mercenaries against their fellow-citizens; he further saw them plundering the temples of the gods, putting to death the best citizens, distrusting their closest friends, and living in no less anxiety than those who are lying in prison under sentence of death; he saw that, although they are objects of envy abroad, they are a prey at home to greater anxiety than ordinary men; 34. for what can be more bitter for a man than to live in the perpetual dread of being assassinated by one of those around him, as much afraid of his protectors as of those who are plotting against him? Theseus then, despising all such men, and considering them, not rulers, but plagues of their country, proved that it was easy to be a monarch and yet to be no less happy than those who enjoy equal rights with the rest of the citizens. 35. In the first place, he united the scattered villages which formed the city, and increased it to such an extent that, after all that time, it is even now the greatest of all the Hellenic cities; next, he established a common fatherland, and, having emancipated the minds of his fellow-citizens, he opened the path of rivalry in virtue to all, being confident that he would be no less superior to them if they practised it than if they neglected it, and feeling that the honours which are bestowed by those who are high-minded are sweeter than those derived from men who are in a state of servitude. 36. Far from doing anything against the wishes of the citizens, he gave the people control over public affairs, while they asked him to rule alone, considering that in his hands his monarchy was more faithful to the laws and more impartial than their own democracy. For he did not, like other

monarchs, impose labours upon others, while reserving the enjoyment of pleasures for himself alone, but he made the dangers his own, and shared the advantages impartially with all. 37. In consequence whereof, he passed his life, not an object of attack, but of affection, not preserving his authority by the aid of mercenaries, but protected by the love of the citizens, in authority an autocrat, in good deeds a popular leader; for he administered the state so honourably and in such strict accordance with the laws that even now traces of his mildness may be found remaining in our national character.

38. As for Helen, the daughter of Zeus, who brought under her control such high virtue and wisdom, who could help praising and honouring her, and considering her far superior to all the women who have ever yet existed? for we shall never be able to produce a more trustworthy witness or a more convincing authority upon the good qualities of Helen than the judgment of Theseus. But, that I may not seem to dwell too long upon the same topic from lack of ideas, or to misuse the reputation of a single man in order to enhance that of Helen, I wish to speak of what remains.

39. After the descent of Theseus to Hades, when she returned again to Lacedaemon and was of age to marry, all the princes and rulers of the time held the same opinion concerning her as Theseus; for, although it was in their power to choose out of their own cities the most distinguished women as their wives, they despised an alliance at home, and went to Sparta as suitors of Helen. 40. And, when her future husband was as yet undecided, and all had an equal chance, it was so evident that she would become the cause of general strife, that they assembled together and pledged themselves to assist one another, in case anyone should attempt to take her from him who might be thought worthy of her hand in marriage, each one imagining that he was thereby ensuring support for himself in the future. 41. While, however, they were all de-

ceived in their particular hope except one man, none of them was wrong in the general opinion entertained concerning her. For, shortly afterwards, a dispute arose amongst the gods about beauty, in which Alexander, son of Priam, was appointed umpire, and, when Hera offered him the kingdom of all Asia, Athena victory in war, 42. and Aphrodite the hand of Helen, being unable to decide between their personal charms, but dazzled by the sight of the goddesses, and compelled to make his choice of the gifts they offered, he chose the possession of Helen as preferable to everything else, not with an eye to mere pleasure—although this is more to be desired by men of sense than many other things; 43. such, however, was not his object, but he was eager to become the son-in-law of Zeus, thinking this a far greater and more honourable distinction than the empire of Asia, and reflecting that, while great authority and power is at times bestowed even upon contemptible individuals, none among posterity would ever be considered worthy of the hand of such a woman, and that further he could bequeath no more splendid legacy to his children than by securing to them the honour of being descended from Zeus on the mother's as well as on the father's side. 44. For he knew that, while other favours of fortune quickly change hands, nobility of birth is an eternal patrimony, so that this choice of his would be to the advantage of his whole family, while all the other gifts would not endure beyond the term of his own life. 45. No sensible man could find anything to say against these considerations; some of those, however, who pay no heed to previous circumstances, but only look at the events of the moment, have before now reviled him, whose folly may easily be understood from the reproaches they have uttered against him. 46. For how can they avoid incurring ridicule, if they consider their own intellect more capable than that which was honoured by the preference of the gods, who certainly did not intrust the decision of a matter

which stirred up such strife amongst them to an ordinary individual, but were clearly as anxious to select the best judge as they were careful about the subject of the dispute itself. 47. And we ought to consider what manner of man he was, and to estimate him, not by the wrath of those who failed to obtain the prize, but by the fact that all, after deliberation, had chosen his judgment in preference to that of anyone else. For there is nothing to prevent even those who have done no wrong being maltreated by those who are stronger, but it is impossible for a man, except he be far superior in intelligence, to be so honoured as to be appointed judge of immortals, although only a mortal himself. 48. I am surprised that anyone should think that he decided wrongly in preferring to live with her, for whose sake many of the demigods were ready to die; would he not have shown himself utterly senseless if, knowing that the goddesses were rivals for the palm of beauty, he had himself despised it, and had not considered this the most precious gift, to which he saw that the goddesses themselves attached the greatest value? 49. Who would have despised the hand of Helen, at whose abduction the Hellenes were as indignant as if the whole of their country had been plundered, while the barbarians were as proud as if they had conquered us all? The feelings with which they both regarded it is clear; for, though they formerly had many causes of complaint against one another, they sunk their differences, and, for her sake, stirred up a war of such magnitude, not only in the furious passions it aroused, but also in its duration and extensive preparations, as had never taken place before that time. 50. And when it was in the power of the one party, if they restored Helen, to be rid of their present misfortunes, and of the other, if they took no thought for her, to live in security for the future, neither of them were willing to act in this manner; but the barbarians were content to see their cities sacked and their country ravaged, if only

they need not surrender her to the Hellenes, while the latter preferred to remain and grow old in a foreign land without ever looking upon their friends again rather than to abandon her and to withdraw to their own homes. 51. And they acted in this manner, not eager for the victory of Alexander or Menelaus, but the one on behalf of Asia, the others in the cause of Europe, thinking that whichever of the two countries should be her home would be the happier.

52. Such a love of the hardships of that expedition came upon all, not only Hellenes and barbarians, but also upon the gods, that they did not even dissuade their own children from taking part in the struggles around Troy: but Zeus, Eos, Poseidon, and Thetis, although they knew beforehand the fate of Sarpedon, of Memnon, of Cycnus, and of Achilles, joined in encouraging and sending them forth to the war, 53. feeling that it was more honourable for them to die fighting for the daughter of Zeus than to live without taking part in the dangers to be undergone on her behalf. And we ought not to be surprised at their feelings in regard to their children, since the war they waged was far greater and more terrible than that which they had formerly carried on against the Giants; against the latter they carried on the conflict united, but for Helen they fought against one another.

54. With good reason they came to this resolution, and I also have a right to use exaggerated language about her; for she had the greatest share of beauty, which is the most august, most precious, and most divine of all things. And it is easy to estimate its influence; for, while many of the things which have no part or lot in courage, wisdom, or justice, will be seen to be valued more highly than each of these, we shall find that none of those things which have no share of beauty are objects of admiration, but are universally despised, except in so far as they share this attribute, and that virtue owes its reputation chiefly to this, that it is

the most beautiful of the aspects of life. 55. And we may learn the superiority of beauty over all other things from the feelings with which we ourselves regard each of them. For, in regard to other things, we merely desire to obtain what we stand in need of, but our minds are affected no further by them; but a love of beautiful things is implanted in us, as much more powerful than our will, as the object of it is better. 56. And, while we are jealous of those who surpass us in intelligence or anything else, if they do not win us over by daily benefits and force us to love them, we are inspired with goodwill towards the beautiful at first sight, and they are the only persons to whom we are never weary of paying homage as to the gods, 57. but we are more willing to serve such than to rule others, being more grateful to those who impose many tasks upon us than to those who set us nothing to do. And, while we reproach those who are subject to any other power, and contemptuously call them flatterers, we regard those who are the slaves of beauty as lovers of the beautiful and of honourable labour. 58. Further, we show such pious respect and consideration for this gift of nature, that we hold those of its possessors who make a profit of it and counsel ill in regard to their youth in greater dishonour than those who violate the persons of others; while we honour in the future those who keep the flower of their own youth inaccessible to the vicious like a sacred shrine equally with those who have conferred some benefit on the city at large.

59. But why need I waste time in recording the opinions of men? Zeus, the lord of all, who displays his might in everything else, considers it right to approach beauty in a spirit of humility. For in the likeness of Amphitryon he visited Alcmene, and as a golden stream was intimate with Danae, and, in the form of a swan, took refuge in the bosom of Nemesis, and, in the same shape, won Leda for his bride, ever pursuing his quest of this gift of nature by stratagem and not by force.

60. And beauty is held in so much greater honour amongst them than amongst us, that they readily make excuses for their wives when overcome by its influence, and one could point to many of the goddesses, who have fallen victims to mortal beauty, none of whom sought to conceal what had happened as if it involved any disgrace, but, as if such acts were honourable, they preferred that they should be celebrated rather than remain untold. The strongest proof of what I have stated is that we shall find that more mortals have owed their immortality to their beauty than to any other excellences.

61. To all these Helen was superior in proportion as she surpassed them in personal charm. For she not only won immortality herself, but, having obtained power equal to that of the gods, she first translated her brothers to the gods, when they were already in the grasp of destiny, and, desiring to make the change assured, she bestowed upon them honours so conspicuous that the sight of them is able to save the lives of those in peril on the sea, if they invoke their aid with pious respect. 62. After this she so amply rewarded Menelaus for the toils and dangers which he underwent on her behalf, that, when the whole race of the Pelopidae became extinct, and was involved in irremediable woes, she not only delivered him from these calamities, but, having bestowed immortality upon him, she took him for her spouse and companion for all time. 63. And as an actual witness to this I can bring forward the city of the Spartans, which preserves ancient traditions with the greatest fidelity; for even at the present day, at Therapnae in Laconia, they offer up holy sacrifices according to the custom of their ancestors in honour of both of them, as unto gods, and not as unto heroes.

64. She further displayed her power to Stesichorus the poet; for, having used insulting language concerning her at the commencement of an ode, he rose up bereft of eyesight; but when, recognising the cause of his affliction, he com-

posed his recantation, as it is called, she restored to him the faculty of sight. Some of the Homeridae also recount that, coming to Homer by night, she ordered him to compose an epic on those who took the field at Troy, wishing to render their death an object of greater envy than the life of the rest of mankind; and that thus, partly owing to the genius of Homer, but chiefly through her, his charming poem, of universal renown, was composed.

66. Since then she has power both to punish and reward, it is the duty of the wealthy to propitiate and honour her with offerings, sacrifices, and processions, and of philosophers to endeavour to speak of her in terms worthy of the material at hand; for such is the tribute that it befits the educated to pay.

67. What I have omitted far exceeds what I have said. For, not to mention arts, philosophy, and all the other blessings which one might refer to her and to the Trojan war, we should rightly consider that it is owing to her that we are not the slaves of the barbarians. For we shall find that the Hellenes became of one mind for the sake of Helen, and united in an expedition against them, and that on that occasion for the first time Europe erected a trophy in honour of a victory over Asia; 68. in consequence of which our fortunes experienced such a change, that from that time forth those of the barbarians who were unfortunate begged that they might govern Hellenic cities. Danaus, having fled from Egypt, occupied Argos, Cadmus of Sidon became ruler of Thebes, the Carians peopled the islands, and Pelops, the son of Tantalus, became master of the whole of Peloponnesus; and, after that war, our race made such strides that it took from the barbarians important cities and a large extent of territory. 69. If, therefore, anyone is desirous of developing and enlarging upon this subject, he will have an ample opportunity of praising Helen more than I have done in this discourse, and of finding much to say concerning her that is as yet unsaid.

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[1] This Index is based on that in the Teubner Text.

[2] The references to well-known and frequently-recurring names contain the most important facts concerning them which are mentioned in this volume.

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